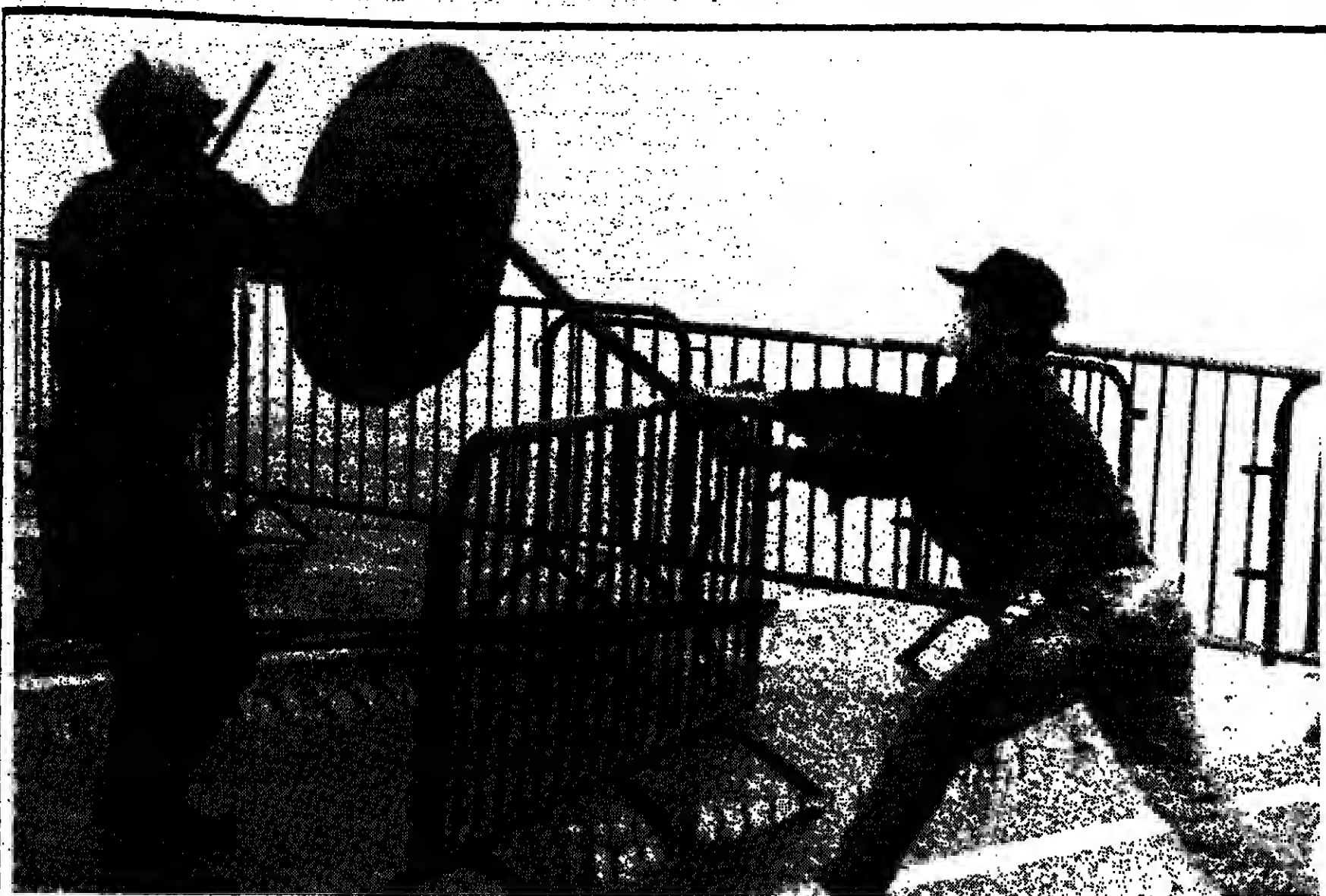


Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Paris, Friday, February 4, 1994

No. 34,503



IRATE OVER IMPORTS — A French fisherman striking a policeman's shield during a protest Thursday in Boulogne. Demonstrators also ransacked Paris's wholesale market. A widening strike by Brittany fishermen over imports is a new test for the government of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, which responded by promising more aid. Page 2.

The Voters' Message for Kohl: It's the Economy!

By Brandon Michener

FRANKFURT — Chancellor Helmut Kohl's handling of the German economy has emerged as such a political liability that elections beginning this spring could propel a new coalition to power for the first time in more than a decade. Widespread skepticism of the government's recently published prediction that the pan-German economy would grow as much as 1.5 percent this year after shrinking 1.3 percent in 1993 was one clear sign that Germans are fed up with their officials' failed promise of an imminent recovery in Europe's biggest economy, which continues to experience a deep recession and unemployment.

Economics Minister Günter Rexrodt defended the government's new 30-point economic platform against charges by the opposition that it would fail to create a single job. "We are dealing with the problem," Mr. Rexrodt said of the plan, which is a mixture of draft laws, plans and proposals to help revive the struggling economy by spurring investment and helping small business.

But Uwe Jens, economics expert for the opposition Social Democratic Party called the plan window dressing to hide the government's poor track record during the recession. "Germans will be called to the polls beginning in March for 19 separate state and local elections this year, culminating in Oct. 16 federal elections in which Chancellor Helmut Kohl's conservative-liberal coalition is widely expected to cede power to a new, grand coalition or a government led by the Social Democrats."

See GERMANY, Page 13

Britain's Not-So-Special Relationship

By John Darnton

LONDON — The dispute over the American visa for Gerry Adams, the Irish republican leader, has touched a deep wellspring of anxiety here — the fear that the United States no longer cares about Britain. British governments are accustomed to new American administrations coming into office infatuated with the political throw-weight of the Germans or casting a covetous eye at commercial possibilities in Asia. It happened with Ronald Reagan and it happened even more with George Bush, according to Lady Thatcher's memoirs.

Things have even reached the point where Prime Minister John Major has trouble getting President Bill Clinton on the line. When he called to congratulate him on the passage of NAFTA in November, a senior government official admitted sheepishly at the time, he could not rouse him. (Mr. Clinton called back a few days later.) "Now the two men, who would seem to have a lot in common — they are roughly of the same generation, both 'self-made' and of modest origins — rarely talk at all. Perhaps once a month, ventured a British official, who pointed out that they had just seen each other, along with the other heads of state, at the NATO summit meeting in January. On Tuesday, Mr. Major summoned the American ambassador, Raymond Seitz, to 10 Downing Street to express his displeasure at the visa for Mr. Adams — a diplomatic demarche virtually unknown in recent memory. Though there has been a flurry of communications through the embassies and through the foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd, who

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And a New Factor in Bosnian Equation

By David B. Ottaway

VIENNA — The confirmed engagement of the regular Croatian Army in the Bosnian conflict has placed the United States and Europe before yet another Balkan policy dilemma that threatens to deepen the trans-Atlantic and intra-European rift over Bosnia. The question now is whether to impose sanctions on Croatia and risk possible Croatian retaliation against the UN peacekeeping force that has its headquarters in Zagreb or even more likely against the more than 200,000 Bosnian Muslim refugees there.

The Clinton administration has taken the lead recently in warning Croatia that sanctions might be imposed if it remained directly engaged militarily in Bosnia. The U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, told the Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman, during her visit to Zagreb on Jan. 5 to 7 that his army's presence inside Bosnia was of "major concern" to the Clinton administration. "It might in fact lead to sanctions," she said. A State Department spokesman, Michael McCurry, referred Monday to Mrs. Albright's comments, describing them as a "fairly stern warning" to Mr. Tudjman about possible economic sanctions being imposed on his nation.

See BOSNIA, Page 4

Georgia Signs Military Accord And Re-enters Russian Sphere

By Fred Hiatt

MOSCOW — The leaders of Russia and Georgia signed a treaty of friendship and military cooperation on Thursday that is intended to bring the small, strife-torn nation in the Caucasus back into Moscow's sphere of influence. The agreement would allow Russia to maintain three military bases in Georgia and calls for Russian forces to help train and equip a new Georgian Army. The Russian defense minister, Pavel S. Grachev, said the three bases, housing fighter and bomber planes and marine landing forces for the Black Sea Fleet, would be set up by July 1.

But in the face of overwhelming opposition in the Russian parliament, President Boris Yeltsin said he would not immediately submit the overall treaty for ratification. Georgia's perilous position, which has made Russian legislators wary of a close alliance, was underscored when its deputy defense minister was killed in a bomb attack only hours before Mr. Yeltsin landed in the capital, Tbilisi. Georgia's defense minister was wounded in a second explosion while inspecting the site of his deputy's assassination. Mr. Yeltsin flew to Tbilisi on Thursday morning to sign the treaty alongside the Georgian leader, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, a former Soviet minister who called Mr. Yeltsin's visit the most important event in 200 years of Georgian-Russian relations.

Facing famine and riven by three separate civil wars, Georgia turned to its giant northern neighbor for economic and military help after two years of trying to go it alone. Opposition forces in Georgia accused Mr. Shevardnadze of selling out the nation's new independence, but he said Georgia had no choice. "We realize more and more that the temporary coolness in relations between our states was a serious mistake which must be corrected," Mr. Shevardnadze said. The alliance between Russia and Georgia reflects a trend among many of the 13 other former Soviet republics to seek military and economic protection from Moscow after two years of declarations of sovereignty. Only two tiny Baltic republics, Estonia and Latvia, have managed almost totally to reinvent their trade and foreign policies toward the West. The trend, especially after a strong showing by extreme Russian nationalists in parliamentary elections in December, has met with ambivalence both here and abroad. Many Western analysts, as well as politicians within the former Soviet republics themselves, fear that Moscow will take advantage of its neighbors' difficulties

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Clinton Lifts 19-Year-Old U.S. Embargo On Vietnam

Veterans' Pleas Rejected; Washington Will Set Up Liaison Office in Hanoi

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton lifted the U.S. economic embargo against Vietnam on Thursday, opening the way to reconciliation with a country that fought the United States to a standstill in a war that rent American society. In announcing his initiative, broadcast from the White House, Mr. Clinton said he had also decided to "establish a liaison office in Vietnam," a preliminary step toward diplomatic relations. But the president emphasized that before normal relations were fully established, "we need more progress, more cooperation and Hanoi's neighbors see a chance for greater regional cooperation. Page 5. Vietnam welcomes the lifting of the embargo as end of an outdated relic of war. Page 5.

more answers" about American servicemen still missing and unaccounted for from a conflict that ended nearly 20 years ago. Mr. Clinton said that accounting was still foremost in his mind when it came to Vietnam and that the main reason for removing the trade embargo was that it "offers the best way of resolving the fate of those who are missing."

He said that he had met earlier in the day with representatives of veterans' groups to whom he explained his reasons. "Some were not convinced," he said. The president was acting on the unanimous recommendation of his national security advisers, who recently made their opinions known in a formal action memorandum, which the president signed Thursday. Mr. Clinton's move was made possible politically by a bipartisan resolution in the Senate last week urging him to remove the economic sanctions imposed against North Vietnam in 1964 and a reunited Vietnam in 1975. That vote had the support of most of the Vietnam veterans in the Senate, including John S. McCain 3d, an Arizona Republican who was a prisoner of war for nearly six years, John F. Kerry of Massachusetts, a Democrat who was wounded three times in combat, and Bob Kerrey, a Nebraska Democrat, who won the Medal of Honor, the nation's highest award for valor. Their support and the lopsided vote — 62 to 38 — gave Mr. Clinton political cover for his action. Mr. Clinton needed the protection because he avoided the military draft when he was of an age to go to Vietnam, and he opposed U.S. involvement in the conflict.

The embargo has remained a highly charged issue among some veterans' groups and the families of missing soldiers. Many had urged that the embargo be maintained because, they said, Hanoi has lied about U.S. prisoners, all of whom were to have been returned under the 1973 Paris peace accord that ended U.S. participation in the war. More than 2,300 Americans are listed as missing in Vietnam. Pressure for lifting the embargo has come from businesses, which want to invest in and sell to the fast-growing Vietnamese economy, as well from many who believe that Vietnam has done all it can to cooperate in the search for missing U.S. service personnel. In a larger sense, the debate in the administration and in the Congress was about whether the war was finally over or not. Senator Kerry argued that more than half of Vietnam's 70 million people were under the age of 24 and had nothing to do with the war. Maintaining a U.S. trade embargo while Japan, France and other economic competitors are doing business there "is an embargo against ourselves," Mr. Kerry was quoted by The Washington Post as saying.

Critics Let Fly At Hosokawa Over Tax Plan

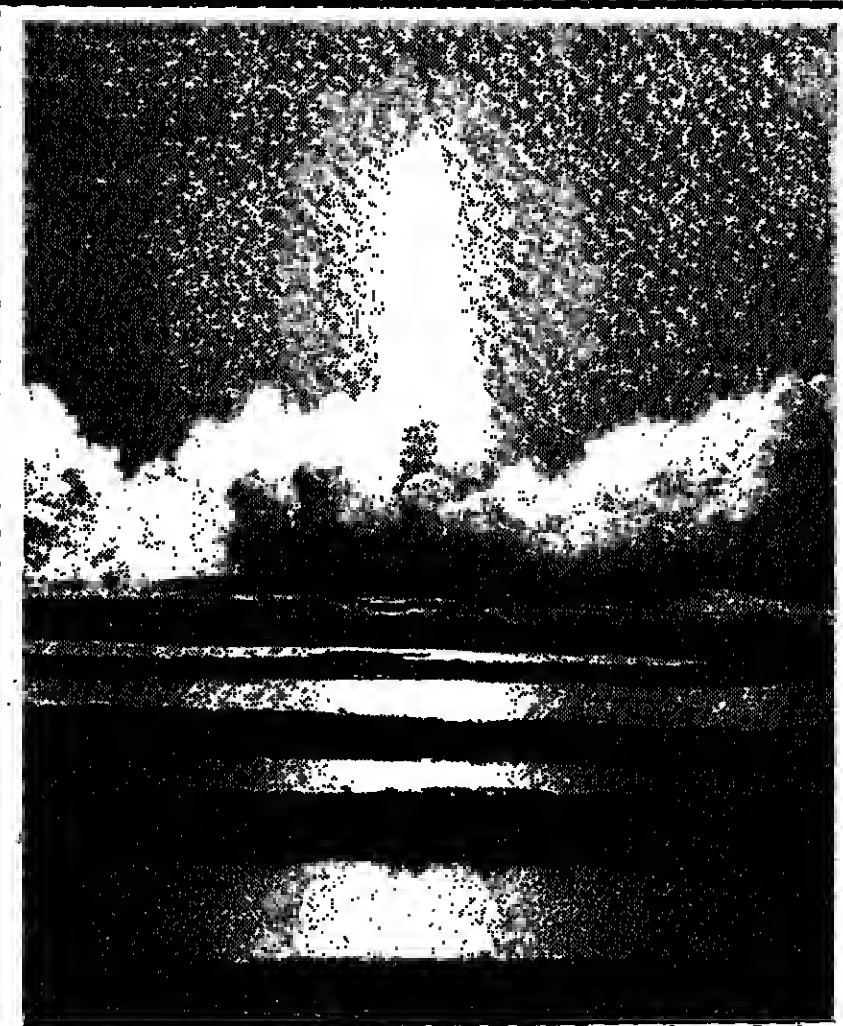
By James Sterngold

TOKYO — Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa faced the harshest personal attacks of his tenure on Thursday, and his government was threatened with a split as even some close allies criticized his proposal for a \$35 billion cut in income taxes and an even larger increase in sales taxes after three years.

The normally superbly controlled and highly visible prime minister stumbled through a news conference at 1 A.M. when he announced the proposals, which are intended to revive the recession-bound economy and rebalance the tax system. Mr. Hosokawa then all but disappeared on Thursday as business leaders and politicians, including some members of his own party, took turns lambasting the plan and Mr. Hosokawa's leadership. As representatives of the parties in his governing coalition met throughout the day to resolve the crisis through compromise, the only thing they agreed on was that the plan would have to be altered, particularly the proposed rise in the sales tax. If not, they warned, a number of cabinet members would resign, the budget would not be passed, and the government would risk collapsing. "Everyone makes mistakes, but then we have to admit it and correct them," said Masayoshi Takemura, the chief cabinet secretary and head of the New Harbinger Party, one of Mr. Hosokawa's staunchest supporters. In addition, some economists warned that even with the size of the stimulus measures, the

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SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY — Discovery lifting off Thursday from Florida with a cosmonaut in the crew as an era of U.S.-Russia space cooperation began. Page 3.

Kiosk Japanese Launch Their Own Rocket

TANEGASHIMA, Japan (AP) — The first powerful rocket developed completely in Japan lifted into space Friday, carrying Japanese hopes of leadership in commercial satellite launching. The rocket, called the H-II, which took 270 billion yen (about \$2.4 billion) to develop, frees Japan from U.S. veto power over launchings of third-nation satellites, a licensing condition for American technology used in previous rockets.

The H-II rocket is one of the most advanced in the world, making it more expensive than launchers from other nations. In painstaking detail, the report on 193 countries issued this week paints a dreary picture of day-to-day discrimination and abuse. In Zaire, girls spend one-third as much time in school as boys and do most of the heavy farm work. Colombian women typically earn 30 to 40 percent less than men.

Human-Rights Report's New, Grim Focus

U.S. Cites Discrimination and Abuse of Women Worldwide

By Steven Greenhouse

WASHINGTON — For the first time, the State Department has focused on the treatment of women in its annual human-rights report, and its findings are grim: forced sterilizations and abortions in China; Burmese and Thai girls coerced into prostitution; maids beaten in Saudi Arabia, and girls ritually mutilated in the Sudan and Somalia. The report took a broad view of women and human rights, looking not just at abuses by governments, but also at the indignities and discrimination that governments often have little to do with. But the State Department's human-rights

In Congo, adultery is illegal for women, but not for men. Indonesian women are loath to go out alone at night because they are widely seen as fair game for sexual attack. "We wanted to highlight the situation that many women face around the world," said Timothy E. Wirth, the State Department's counselor who oversees human-rights policy. "There is a problem of rampant discrimination against women, and physical abuse is just the most obvious example."

In Turkey, the government has opened shelters for battered women, and Turkish women are working in increasing numbers in professions, business and government, including the courts. In Mexico, women now hold some of the senior positions in the Congress, and the government is sponsoring widespread education programs on women's rights. "It's an important breakthrough for the administration to tell governments around the world that this is something we are at least starting to give lip service to and hopefully will take more seriously in the years to come," said Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization for Women.

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3,997.06	118.47	

The Dollar

DM	1.7415	1.734
Pound	1.4874	1.4866
Yen	108.15	108.05
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Egypt's Secular Society Reels And Fundamentalist Cultural Offensive Gains

By Youssef M. Ibrahim
New York Times Service

CAIRO — With their guns and explosives, Muslim militants have destroyed Egypt's tourist industry, scared away investors and halted the 20-year march toward democracy and economic liberalization.

But the more serious threat, many Egyptians say, is the assault by Muslim theorists on secularist traditions.

While the government has fought with some success to contain the violence by militant Muslim groups, who have killed officials, police officers, Christians and occasionally tourists, fundamentalist social and religious groups continue to gain ground in imposing Islam in education, the press, courts and the arts.

The cultural offensive, backed by the implicit threat of terrorism, has become the Islamists' main activity in their quest to reshape Egypt into an Islamic republic.

In December, a fundamentalist member of parliament, Galal Ghannam, publicly accused the minister of culture, Farouq Hosni, of publishing "indecent pornography" in government reviews. He was angry about a Gustav Klimt painting of Adam and Eve.

Mr. Ghannam, accompanied by a chorus of enthusiastic supporters in Parliament, went on to denounce virtually all foreign art and culture in Egypt, particularly from the West, including an Egyptian adaptation of a play by Bertolt Brecht, the Culture Ministry's sponsorship of ballet schools, movie festivals, and translations of foreign literature, and even the works of secular Egyptian writers like Naghib Mahfouz, the Nobel laureate.

"When someone attacks something like a Klimt painting and ballet," said Mr. Hosni, an artist who has been the culture minister for seven years, "it is an insult to the Egyptians who want to shut down Egypt, turn the lights off and close our minds to the international heritage of culture."

But instead of ignoring Mr. Ghannam's demand, Mr. Hosni backed, agreeing to allow conservative Islamic scholars at Al Azhar, the thousand-year-old state religious

university in Cairo, to review — and reject — books scheduled for publication by his ministry. Successive governments, anxious to preserve a separation between Islam and the state, had denied the university such power.

In January, Mr. Mahfouz responded with a declaration, signed by scores of Egyptian writers and artists, describing the assault as "cultural terrorism." But his plan to lead a protest march to parliament, which feared that the protesters would criticize not only the fundamentalists but also government compromises with the fundamentalists.

The Islamists have been accommodated in numerous cases over the last five years.

In March 1993, a fundamentalist-dominated academic committee at Cairo University denied full professorship to a scholar, Nasr Hamid Abuzeid, whose thesis on Islamic writing in the 8th century was found to include "discussions resembling atheism."

The ruling made Mr. Abuzeid a target for radicals who had killed a well-known Egyptian writer, Farag Foda, in 1992 after religious figures called him an apostate.

Indicating how high and how far fundamentalists have risen within the state apparatus, those accused of killing Mr. Foda were defended in court by Sheikh Ahmad Ghazali, one of Egypt's most senior theologians. He is an official of Al Azhar and thus a government employee.

Mr. Ghazali testified in court that Mr. Foda and "secularists" like him are apostates who should be put to death. He added that if the government failed to carry out that "duty," individuals were free to do so.

Other religious scholars, some employed by the government, freely produce and distribute hundreds of thousands of leaflets and messages calling on Muslims to shun Christians. On one tape, Sheikh Omar Abdelkafi said Muslims should not shake hands with Christians, or wish them well on Christian holidays, or walk on the same sidewalk with them.

In most public schools, particu-

larly in the south of Egypt, fundamentalist teachers have imposed the veil on girls as young as 6 and altered schoolbooks to emphasize Islam. In some places, especially Asyut, a fundamentalist bastion, Islamists have virtually taken control of education all the way to the university level.

Islamists have also taken over professional groups, including engineering, medical and legal associations. "Islamic medical clinics," for example, are springing up. Supported by the Muslim Brotherhood, a political organization whose social programs are tolerated by the authorities, the clinics offer inexpensive but poor medical care while serving as recruiting centers for adherents.

It was the attack in parliament, however, that crystallized the fundamentalist thrust, moving a growing number of intellectuals to counterattack and setting off a debate between Islamists and secularists that is still under way.

The Islamists argue that secularists have long practiced their own brand of intellectual terrorism. Fahmy Howaidi, one of the main proponents of an Islamic state, has accused secularists of having ignored Egypt's deep Islamic and Arab roots as they pursued a communion with Western culture.

El Sayed Youssef, director of Al Ahram Strategic Studies Center, is one of a group of Egyptian intellectuals who see the attack on secular culture and thinking as part of a campaign to isolate Egypt from its diversified heritage, which includes Pharaonic, Hellenic, Roman, Arab, Coptic, Byzantine, French and British influences.

"What is that 'damned atheist Western culture' the Islamists talk about anyway?" Mr. Youssef asked. "It is a range of accumulated values and systems evident in our laws, our constitution, our modern education, our multiparty system, our free press, our art, radio, and television. In short, it is the collection of civilizing accomplishments that Egypt has acquired over the ages."

"All these groups," Mr. Youssef said, "notwithstanding their diversity, have only one aim from which they will not be diverted, namely, to bring about the collapse of the present secularist state in Egypt, replacing it with a religious authority based on religious texts and under slogans that only God, not men, will rule."

Gamal Ghitani, editor of Creativity, the publication that reproduced the Klimt painting, said: "Unless every owner of a pen or a brush and every innovator stands up to such attacks, now one will be able to write a tune, compose a tune, or paint a color."

But Mr. Youssef and Mr. Ghitani are largely preaching to other intellectuals, and their voices are restrained by the government. Trying to woo nonviolent fundamentalists in order to fight the radicals, the government continues to give ground.



CAUTIOUS BENEFACTORS — A Somali boy watching a German UN soldier uncoiling barbed wire Thursday to protect a UN peacekeeping camp at Belet Uen.

De Klerk Digs for Votes on Tough New Ground

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG — As he entered a cavernous hall for a speech that officially started his reelection campaign, President Frederik W. de Klerk was greeted by a crowd that chanted a new version of the traditional black South African political salute: "Viva de Klerk! Viva!"

Then they sang, haltingly and off-key, the traditional black South African national anthem and waved the "new" National Party flag, whose colors and design had been reviewed by traditional black witch doctors.

For 42 years, the National Party government presided over the legalized oppression of blacks. For the last four years, the government has been dismantling that apartheid system, and now — in the first election of the post-apartheid era — the former oppressors are trying to reap the fruits of their conversion from the people they oppressed.

But anthems, chants and flags notwithstanding, the strategy does not seem to be taking them very far. With less than three months to go until South Africa's first all-race election on April 26-28, Mr. de Klerk's projected vote total from blacks stands at 1 percent, according to a national opinion survey.

South Africa's new political demographics leave him no choice but to work hard for the votes he is least likely to get. Until this year,

blacks could not vote. Now, they make up roughly three-quarters of the expected electorate, with the remainder divided among whites (13 percent), mixed-race (8 percent) and Indians (3 percent).

If Mr. de Klerk is discouraged by his predicament, he does not let it show. He timed the campaign kickoff to coincide with the anniversary of the speech he made four years ago announcing the end of apartheid and the release of Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, after decades in prison.

His speech Wednesday night was self-congratulatory and unapologetically partisan. It was the National Party, Mr. de Klerk said,

that had "wring the neck of apartheid and freed all the people of South Africa."

It is the National Party, he said, that "has immense experience in the art of government."

It is the African National Congress that is "secretly controlled by communists, militants and extremists."

His audience was roughly one-third black, and though there was a sense of the post-apartheid uneasiness that always seems to hover around the edges of National Party events in black areas, some of the blacks applauded lustily.

"When people ask me how I can support the party of the oppressors, I tell them they would never have gotten Mandela if it wasn't for de

Klerk," said Honest Vukiziting, 27, a National Party organizer in the black township of Soweto. "The trouble with the ANC is they are communists, and they will ruin the economy."

Mr. Vukiziting's modus operandi in Soweto illustrates the challenges the National Party faces in black areas. He said he must hold meetings in secret for fear of intimidation and retaliation by ANC supporters. And he concedes he works for the National Party as much for money as love. It is paying him \$700 a month, he said, a 50 percent increase over what he had been earning as a clothing salesman before he got into politics.

Some political analysts here believe there are many conservative

blacks, like Mr. Vukiziting, who fear ANC rule, and they think Mr. de Klerk has a chance to increase his percentage of the black vote. Others say that by campaigning hard for such votes, Mr. de Klerk will engender a positive backlash among mixed-race, Indians and whites, who will admire Mr. de Klerk's adjustment to the new political landscape.

Still others suggest that his real motive is to position himself as an effective deputy president in what is all but certain to be an ANC-dominated government. Under South Africa's new interim constitution, the first post-apartheid government will be one of national unity, in which the leader of the largest opposition party is assured the post of deputy president. What is not assured is whether he will have any real power.

"You get the impression de Klerk sees himself as a modern-day Talleyrand, able to survive from one regime to the next because he is so skillful at bobbing and weaving," said Alf Stadler, a political scientist. "And you also have to give him credit. For a guy who must know he is going to lose big, he puts on a brave face."

For all his broadsides at the ANC, Mr. de Klerk is careful never to attack Mr. Mandela. His advisers say it is because Mr. de Klerk prides himself on never making personal attacks. But there is an alternate explanation: The president knows his former prisoner is also his future boss.

'Foreign Powers' Blamed in Iran Plot

By Barry James
International Herald Tribune

Official Tehran radio said Thursday that a man tried to assassinate President Hashemi Rafsanjani earlier this week in a plot described as involving foreign powers.

Iranian television, linking the alleged shooting with an outbreak of rioting in the eastern city of Zahedan, said such incidents "can only be the work of foreign powers" like the Central Intelligence Agency and the Israeli secret service, Mossad.

At the same time, Jordan announced that it was asking 21 of 26 Iranian diplomats to leave the country, in what experts said appeared to be a reaction against Tehran-fomented Islamic fundamentalism in the Arab world, and Iranian attempts to block the Arab-Israeli peace process. The move followed the assassination of a Jordanian diplomat in Beirut last weekend, after King Hussein announced that he wanted to meet Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel to discuss peace.

Middle East experts said Mr. Rafsanjani had been buffeted for some time by wide-scale unrest caused by worsening economic conditions.

The official Iranian press agency, IRNA, said the man who tried to assassinate the president was a 26-year-old "moral deviant" who had been rejected by the Revolutionary Guards, Iran's Islamic militia, for "committing sacrilegious activities."

Mr. Rafsanjani was not injured in the incident.

One report indicated that the plot was part of a religious backlash against the Shiite Muslim theocracy running Iran.

In Zahedan, where the rioting connected to the reported assassination attempt occurred, the population is predominantly Sunni Muslim, with links to nearby Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The leading Iranian opposition group, the Mujahidin Khalq, said the rioting was sparked by protests over religious persecution and reports of the destruction of a Sunni mosque.

IRNA also attributed the rioting in Zahedan to foreigners, without being more specific. The agency said "and-revolutionary" rioters had ripped up Iranian flags and attacked street fronts.

Government officials in Tehran told The Associated Press that the violence in Zahedan might have been instigated by smugglers angered by beefed up security measures along the eastern frontier.

Relations also have been tense between the government and the Christian minority after the apparent murder of the leader of the Assembly of God churches, Haik Hovsepian. Andrew Whitely, executive director of the human-rights group Middle East Watch in New York, said the clergyman's death appeared to be a classic "disappearance" carried out by the security forces.

The killing followed the death sentence on another Christian clergyman for apostasy from Islam. The sentence was commuted under international pressure.

"The evangelical church is the only minority that has not gone along with the government campaign to declare to the outside world that everything is fine for minorities in the Islamic republic," Mr. Whitely said.

Details of the alleged attempt on Mr. Rafsanjani's life were sketchy. Reports said a gunman, who is alleged to have fired about five shots from a small-caliber pistol, had been arrested along with his accomplices. The reported shooting took place in Tehran during a ceremony marking the 15th anniversary of the return of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini from exile.

"Clearly the economic situation in Iran is very poor," said Sami Zohabi of London University, author of "Islam, the People and the State."

"There have been demonstrations and riots in the big cities for the past couple of years," he added. "But my impression is that Rafsanjani is still fairly in control."

Mr. Whitely said there did not appear to be a clear pattern in the events of recent days other than the fact that Mr. Rafsanjani is being battered on a number of fronts.

"He was re-elected with a lower majority this year," Mr. Whitely said, "and I think he is finding that he does not have the authority over the security forces, in particular, that he had hoped for."

GEORGIA: Treaty With Russia

Continued from Page 1

to begin dictating policy and interfering in their affairs.

For their part, Russian politicians are eager to defend the interests of Russian-speakers in "the near abroad," as other former Soviet republics are known here. But they are reluctant to assume responsibility for the collapsing economies and ethnic strife now weakening Russia's neighbors, especially when Russia faces serious problems of its own.

The leaders of every faction in the State Duma, or lower house of Russia's parliament, signed a letter to Mr. Yeltsin opposing the treaty with Georgia and warning that it might not be ratified. At a news conference during his 11-hour visit to Tbilisi, Mr. Yeltsin said he expected argument and controversy but believed the Duma would eventually approve the pact.

But he also said he would not submit the treaty until two ethnic conflicts, both involving tiny breakaway republics within Georgia but on Russia's border, had been resolved.

JAPAN: Fierce Criticism

Continued from Page 1

economy has grown so weak in recent months that the package might simply halt the deterioration rather than spark a healthy rebound.

This plan would simply help avoid negative growth, said Hirohiko Kikuchi, chief economist at the Nomura Research Institute. "At best, we'll start to see some improvement in the economy toward the second half of the year."

Minoko Sasaki-Smith, an economist in Tokyo with Morgan Stanley Japan, said that by her estimates only about half of the income tax reductions would be spent, with the rest likely to be saved by consumers.

That could make the subsequent increase in sales taxes even more burdensome and reduce the overall benefits to the economy.

Mr. Hosokawa apparently took some members of his coalition government by surprise with his announcement that he had decided to introduce the 555 billion yen reduction in income and local taxes, most of it retroactive to January.

The tax cut was part of a huge economic stimulus package that is expected to include about \$83 billion in public works spending, low-cost loans to businesses and other spending increases.

The economic package was supposed to have been announced Thursday afternoon, but the release was delayed because of the tax-cut uproar, disappointing businessmen and the financial markets.

The delay could further strain relations with the United States, which has been pushing for a big stimulus plan as a means of drawing in more imports and reducing Japan's trade surplus.

Mr. Hosokawa is scheduled to meet President Bill Clinton in Washington on Feb. 11, and the trade agreement they are supposed to conclude there is still far from completion. The economic stimulus plan was intended as the one unequivocal sign that the Japanese government was serious about reducing the trade surplus.

What angered many political and business leaders was the fact that Mr. Hosokawa rejected the advice of his own coalition partners and accepted the arguments of Finance Ministry bureaucrats in insisting on the increase in sales taxes to cover the loss of income-tax revenue.

Mr. Hosokawa said the 3 percent national sales tax, which has been extremely unpopular since it was introduced five years ago, would rise to 7 percent as of April 1, 1997.

BOSNIA: Croatian Army Faces U.S. and Europe With Another Dilemma

Continued from Page 1

lary Germany with well known sympathies for Croatia, has no stomach to follow through on the American threat of sanctions.

EU foreign ministers are expected to take up the issue at their next meeting in Brussels on Monday. But the prospects for any agreement appear close to nil.

Italy warned Croatia on Thursday that it would face economic sanctions and isolation in Europe if its regular troops were proved to be fighting in Bosnia. Reuters reported, Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta spelled out the threat as Denmark announced that it would formally propose sanctions against Croatia at the Monday meeting of EU foreign ministers.

[Mr. Andreatta said that a Bosnian Croatian offensive supported by external forces "can only lead to an economic response from the international community." Mr. Andreatta spoke after meeting with the Croatian foreign minister, Mate Granic, in Rome.]

The question facing the United States and the United States is whether more sanctions will help achieve the primary objective of promoting a peace settlement. There is little controversy about their economic effectiveness.

The series of economic and financial measures imposed on Serbia in 1992-93 have largely destroyed its economy, creating the worst case of hyperinflation in Europe since the German Weimar republic.

But so far sanctions have yielded no concrete political dividends by way of an agreement, although they may have helped contain the Bosnian conflict by occupying Serbian minds and energies with issues of day-to-day survival.

It is to this Muslim offensive that

national community." Mr. Andreatta spoke after meeting with the Croatian foreign minister, Mate Granic, in Rome.]

The question facing the United States and the United States is whether more sanctions will help achieve the primary objective of promoting a peace settlement. There is little controversy about their economic effectiveness.

The series of economic and financial measures imposed on Serbia in 1992-93 have largely destroyed its economy, creating the worst case of hyperinflation in Europe since the German Weimar republic.

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In fact, the international mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg are no longer blaming President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia for the deadlock over a peace settlement. Instead, they regard the Muslim-led Bosnian government as the main obstacle.

This is because the Bosnians have refused to accept the Serb-proposed territorial outlines for three ethnically constituted republics. The Serbs are ready to give one third of Bosnia to the Muslims but not to include many of the areas they "ethnically cleansed" of the Muslim population.

The Bosnian government has said it is determined to fight on to take back these lands, push the Bosnian Croats forces out of central Bosnia and secure a corridor through Croat-held territory to the Adriatic Sea.

It is to this Muslim offensive that

Croatia is now responding by engaging its troops directly and rounding up thousands of Bosnian Croats to bolster the Bosnian Croats forces.

Bosnian Serb forces have also ordered a general mobilization and begun conscripting hundreds of Muslims. Croat and Serb refugees from Bosnia who have been living in Serbia. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has denounced this conscription as a violation of Geneva convention provisions on the treatment of refugees.

But there is little likelihood that the UN Security Council will seek to impose further sanctions on Serbia just because of Bosnian refugees are being conscripted.

Rather, the issue being pondered by the EU and the United States is what effect economic, or diplomatic, sanctions might have on Croatia's behavior.

It is to this Muslim offensive that

ULSTER: U.S. Visa for Gerry Adams a Blow to the 'Special Relationship'

Continued from Page 1

happened to be in Washington this week (and had what a senior official here called a "lively" meeting with W. Anthony Lake, the national security adviser, who favored giving the visa), the two top leaders still have not been in contact to defuse the ill will.

The problem, said one person involved in the back and forth, is not that "we have substantive differences" or "bitterly competing policies" on Northern Ireland. The problem is that it is an issue which means very little in the United States whereas on this side it has tremendous salience," he said.

"It matters to the prime minister, who is politically exposed because of his joint declaration with the Irish government," he said. "It

matters to the press. It matters to Parliament."

And so in acting unilaterally and against British wishes that were clearly spelled out in advance, he said, it was as if Washington was saying that "none of that really counts to us."

Relations with the Clinton administration began over a year ago on what an official in 10 Downing Street conceded Thursday was a "sour note." He was referring to the discovery that strategists from Mr. Major's Conservative Party were actually working in the presidential campaign advising the Republicans.

Then there were press stories that the British Home Office had agreed to search through its files to see if there were any documents on Mr. Clinton from his years as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford and an anti-Vietnam War protester. What was presumably being looked for was an application to change his nationality, which would have instantly dashed his campaign had it ever existed.

There was even a report of an unfortunate private cable sent on election day from Mr. Hurd, a seasoned and patrician diplomat, to James A. Baker, then the secretary of state, whom he had come to know well. He used a hunting metaphor to wish him good luck: "May you bring down every duck in the last flight of the shoot."

Now, British officials are wondering if these ducks are coming back to roost. Is it possible, wondered one top diplomat, that Mr.

Clinton really feels a grudge and enjoys sending darts in Mr. Major's direction?

They do not have to search very hard to find a disconcerting pattern, including public statements from Washington that grate on British sensitivities by making them feel like just any other country. Only three months ago, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said that Europe was "no longer the dominant area of the world."

At the same time, Mr. Clinton gave an interview in which he attacked Britain and France over Bosnia and singled out Mr. Major with an embarrassing aside. Mr. Major had confessed privately to him, he said, that he could not support lifting the Bosnian arms embargo because his government might fail if he did.

Mr. Clinton has only met Mr. Major in a one-on-one session once, in Washington on Feb. 7 last year. They are scheduled to meet again Feb. 28, when Mr. Major goes to Washington.

In recent days, both British and American officials in London have been quietly enumerating for reporters the list of issues on which the two countries have closely cooperated recently, from coordinating policies on a GATT agreement to efforts on China and Russia and the Partnership for Peace arrangement to bring Eastern European countries within NATO's sphere but deny them full membership.

Ironically, both sides have also

pointed out that a profound difference still exists in the approach to Bosnia. Britain, which has 2,300 troops on the ground there, opposes air strikes and the lifting of the arms embargo, as does France. The diplomats mention this as if to say: You see, this is the kind of disagreement we should be having, and when we do it's not the end of the world.

But Ireland is different. For one thing, Britain has long regarded it as an internal matter and something the United States should keep out of. For another, Britain has long harbored a fear that if the United States ever does get involved, given the leverage of Irish-American politicians in Washington, it might put pressure on Britain to move in a direction that Britain does not want to go.

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WOMEN: A Dreary Picture

Continued from Page 1

ization for Women. "But we shouldn't exempt ourselves from criticism."

In the United States, the situation for women could stand for a lot of improving, many feminists say.

Women earn 70 percent of what men do on average, and government estimates show that there were more than one million attacks on women by their husbands or companions last year.

Of all the countries examined, the State Department focused most closely on the situation in Thailand, especially on the 200,000 to 500,000 prostitutes who human-rights groups estimate are in that country.

The report notes how procurers often give the parents of young women an advance against their future earnings, money that is frequently used to build a new house.

The report said the procurers prefer trafficking in women from hill tribes and neighboring countries because they are cheaper to buy and their inability to speak Thai makes them easier to control.

"Despite occasional high profile raids on brothels, laws against prostitution have not been effectively enforced," the report said.

An underlying theme of the report is how governments often turn a blind eye to the abuse of women — and how in many countries the law itself discriminates.

In Morocco, for example, the law excuses killing one's wife if she is caught in the act of adultery, but a woman would not be excused for killing her husband in the same circumstances.

In Bolivia, women's groups report that the police are unympathetic to battered women, and in Cameroon wife-beating is not grounds for divorce.

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North Korean Threats Mount A Warning of 'Practical Action' Against U.S.

The Associated Press
TOKYO — In its latest resort in the dispute over its nuclear program, North Korea warned Thursday that U.S. pressure could provoke an intense response — one that "will be carried into practical action."

In a strongly worded commentary distributed by the Korean Central News Agency, North Korea said it had an "expedient to counter any other option of the United States."

"It is not the United States alone that has the expedient," it said, "and the option is not open only for a big power."

North Korea is believed to be developing nuclear arms and has balked at allowing full international inspections of its nuclear facilities, as it is required to do under the terms of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

The commentary reiterated that

U.S. pressure over the issue might lead North Korea to cancel promises made to Washington, including staying in the treaty and accepting some inspections.

The comments appeared as a partial response to a resolution passed earlier this week by the U.S. Senate urging Washington to prepare to return tactical nuclear weapons to South Korea if talks with North Korea remain at an impasse.

Private U.S. analysts said re-introducing U.S. nuclear weapons in the region would push tensions into a dangerous new phase.

North Korea takes a stance of pressure against us, our reaction will be a hundred times stronger, and it will be carried into practical action.

"The United States is too ridiculous, if it considers that we will begin talks," it said. "We cannot sit

back and watch the maneuvers of the United States to isolate and stifle us."

It said North Korea was fully prepared, "politically and ideologically, militarily, and materially" to cope with any contingency.

In Hong Kong, the U.S. evangelist Billy Graham said he had received a message from President Bill Clinton from President Kim Il Sung of North Korea. Mr. Graham said leaders on both sides should pray "that somebody doesn't make a mistake."

Japan and South Korea also have urged Washington to tread carefully on the issue, fearing an extreme reaction by the unpredictable North Korean leadership.

Russia's new envoy to Seoul criticized U.S. policy toward North Korea Thursday, saying that pressure tactics should not be used.

"The nuclear issue must be solved," Ambassador George Kunz said, "but not by backing North Korea up against a corner."

France Urges Sanctions

The Security Council should consider imposing sanctions on North Korea for its refusal to allow inspections of nuclear sites, the French Foreign Ministry said, Agence France-Presse reported from Paris.

Lifting Hanoi Curbs: Neighbors See Only Gains

By Michael Richardson
International Herald Tribune
SINGAPORE — The lifting of the United States economic embargo against Vietnam marks a formal end to the Cold War in Southeast Asia and encourages Hanoi to join its noncommunist neighbors in developing closer regional cooperation.

It may also hasten Vietnamese membership in the Association of South East Asian Nations and in the recently launched ASEAN free trade area, thus increasing the influence of the group in international affairs.

ASEAN was formed in 1967 partly to thwart communist expansion during the Vietnam War. The group, whose members are Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei, now seeks stability in Southeast Asia by promoting regional political, economic and security cooperation.

Reports earlier this week that President Bill Clinton was ready to clear the way for full economic relations with Vietnam have been welcomed by ASEAN countries, which see the longstanding embargo as an

outdated relic that is hindering regional reconciliation. Mr. Clinton lifted the embargo on Thursday.

The Straits Times newspaper in Singapore said in an editorial Thursday that a final end to the war era was in the interests of the United States as well as Hanoi, "for Vietnam's tremendous potential has been obvious ever since the country emerged

ASEAN remain obstacles to Vietnam's early membership in the group.

But ASEAN diplomats said that as market-oriented economic growth increased after the lifting of the embargo, such differences would likely diminish.

Officials said ASEAN had recently agreed to let Vietnam and Laos take part in meetings of the group concerned with functional cooperation in such areas as trade, education and tourism. Both countries also accepted an offer from ASEAN to give their diplomats training in English, the official language of communication in the group, officials said.

There is increasingly greater consensus in Vietnam on the need to be an ASEAN member," said Hoang Anh Tuan, a researcher at the Institute of International Relations in Hanoi.

He said the thaw with the United States, progress in Vietnam's economic reform program, the normalization of Hanoi's relations with China and improved ties with ASEAN were "all making membership possible."

Since Vietnam completed its withdrawal of military forces from Cambodia in

1989, relations between Hanoi and ASEAN countries have steadily improved.

Vietnam and Laos signed the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation and were given observer status in the group in 1992. The treaty commits the signers to settle disputes peacefully.

Vietnam's deputy foreign minister, Nguyen Dy Nien, said in December that ASEAN and Vietnam should also "promote cooperation in the field of national security and defense" to help erase deep-seated suspicions and smooth the way for eventual Vietnamese membership in the group.

ASEAN ministers have spoken of the possibility that Vietnam and Laos could join as full members within five years.

But President Fidel V. Ramos of the Philippines said recently that this timetable should be accelerated to broaden regional cooperation.

Carolina Hernandez, a political science professor at the University of the Philippines in Manila, said that Mr. Ramos "feels that an expanded ASEAN will be in a better position to play a bigger role" in international affairs.

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John Rewald Dies at 81, Chronicled French Art

By Michael Kimmelman
New York Times Service
NEW YORK — John Rewald, 81, a teacher, curator and author of studies in the history of Impressionism and Post-Impressionism art, died Wednesday in New York of heart failure after a long illness.

First with his "History of Impressionism" in 1946 and 10 years later with his "History of Post-Impressionism," Mr. Rewald chronicled French avant-garde painting during the second half of the 19th century in remarkable and ground-breaking detail.

Since the publication of those volumes, Mr. Rewald's works have served as indispensable sources of dates, places, names and, most of all, ideas about art in late 19th and early 20th century in France.

The books formed the foundation for the research of countless later scholars and were also primary targets for revisionist historians who sought to overturn the study of modern art, beginning with Mr. Rewald's texts.

One way or another, every scholar of late 19th-century French art had to contend with his writings.

His work forms a crucial link to the artists of the 19th century, because he interested himself above all in first-hand sources.

He interviewed Renoir's brother, Felix Feneon, who was Renoir's great champion. He knew Matisse and Signac and was close to mem-

bers of Redon's and Pissarro's families, and he photographed Cezanne's scenes around Aix-en-Provence before they were inexorably changed.

Cezanne was Mr. Rewald's abiding passion, and he wrote several books about the artist, beginning in 1936 with "Cezanne: A Biography," which received the Mitchell Prize in 1986 when it was revised and republished.

His most recent work was "Cezanne and America" in 1989, based on the 1979 Mellon Lectures he delivered at the National Gallery of Art.

Mr. Rewald also wrote books on Gauguin, Bonnard, Renoir, Degas, Seurat, Pissarro and Matisse. He combined an unusual thoroughness of documentation with a partisan's enthusiasm.

Ken L. Davis, 82, a former bureau chief for The Associated Press in New Orleans, Buenos Aires and Madrid, died Monday in New Orleans after falling ill with a fever.

Jo Richardson, 70, a veteran of the hard left of the British Labor Party in government and opposition, died Tuesday in London after a long illness.

James Kimberty, 85, a socialite and Kleenex company heir, died Saturday of cancer in Palm Beach, Florida.

Fouad Fran Boustani, 89, a Lebanese historian and author, died Tuesday in Beirut.

"We note that there has been no progress in discussions between the United States and North Korea concerning a resumption of inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency, and we think the issue of sanctions should be taken up before the Security Council."

Turkey Admits Iranians Died in Raid on Kurds

Reuters
ANKARA — Turkey expressed "deep sorrow" on Thursday that an air raid aimed at rebel Kurds in Iraq had killed Iranians by mistake.

The Foreign Ministry said it had been established that a few cluster bombs aimed at anti-aircraft positions near the Iranian border exploded in the air, causing deaths and property damage on Iranian soil. Tehran said 9 Iranians were killed and 19 wounded in the raid.

"We are deeply sorry that Iranian citizens lost lives and property as result of such an incident," it said.

12 Die in Turkish Avalanche

Reuters
ANKARA — Twelve Turkish soldiers were killed when an avalanche engulfed their post near Cukurda in southeastern Turkey, newspapers reported Thursday.

For Vietnamese, End of an Outdated Relic of War



Clerks in Hanoi unloading Coca-Cola, which with other U.S. products is smuggled into Vietnam.

By William Branigan
Washington Post Service
HANOI — For Vietnam, President Bill Clinton's decision to lift the 19-year-old trade embargo is a welcome end to what was seen here as an outdated relic of the Vietnam War.

Earlier Thursday, in anticipation of Mr. Clinton's action in Washington, Ho The Lan, a Foreign Ministry spokeswoman, said an end of the embargo was "good not only for Vietnam and the United States but for the whole international community."

Many American companies are already active here, and deals have been signed on the assumption that a formal action was inevitable.

In the latest U.S. bid to gain access to this market of 71 million people, American Express was scheduled to sign an agreement in Hanoi on Friday that, among other things, will permit the use of the American Express charge card in Vietnam.

Official U.S. contacts with Vietnam appear to be accelerating as well. A team of Treasury and State Department officials is expected here in mid-February to open talks on financial claims stemming from the war. U.S. government and private claims to assets that were seized by Vietnam in 1975 are estimated at around \$200 million. For its part, Hanoi is seeking \$250 million in former South Vietnamese government assets that were frozen in the United States.

"This is a necessary and concrete step" toward normalization, the spokeswoman said of the claims talks. But she made it clear that Vietnam did not expect diplomatic relations with Washington to be established soon and was prepared for protracted talks.

For the United States, the lifting of the embargo is seen as a milestone that, in a sense, will signify an end to the war that killed 58,000 Americans. It is certain to stir bitter recriminations from some veterans and families of the 2,238 Americans still unaccounted for.

In Vietnam, however, there is little controversy about normalizing trade or, eventually, diplomatic relations with the United States. The Vietnamese can afford to be fairly nonchalant about the embargo, which has largely ceased to have a punitive impact. Loans and aid from Japan and other countries have already started to flow, businessmen from around the globe are busy making deals, and many American products are freely available anyway.

For Hanoi, a major consideration with an end to the embargo is getting the United States engaged in Vietnam as a counterweight to Japan and China. Vietnamese officials privately express fears that the two countries may come to dominate Vietnam economically, and China has become increasingly assertive about territorial disputes with its southern neighbor.

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Jane Benney
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Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Hosokawa and Clinton

Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa has partly delivered on his pledge of political reform. Although he had to compromise with the opposition Liberal Democrats, those reforms that could most benefit relations with the United States got through.

One reason Mr. Hosokawa decided to compromise was Tokyo's need to proceed to other business—stimulating a stalled economy and addressing tough trade demands from Washington. The U.S. trade representative, Mickey Kantor, is now in Tokyo pressing for agreement before Mr. Hosokawa's Feb. 11 summit meeting with President Bill Clinton. Both sides agree that Japan's huge trade surplus with the United States is politically untenable, but they differ sharply over how to reduce it.

On one big issue, Tokyo has the better case. Washington wants to set numerical targets to measure U.S. export gains in specific industries. For years Japanese governments have promised much and delivered little on removing bureaucratic obstacles to imports. Washington is understandably impatient for measurable results. Mr. Clinton ran for president on a promise of more aggressive economic diplomacy, and the Japanese trade surplus is the most prominent target.

Economists argue that trade imbalances are not important, but politicians are acutely sensitive to their impact. Still, there is only so much that governments can or should do to manage private trade. The Hosokawa government is already doing many of the right things. It has begun an ambitious deregulation program, and it is preparing a tax-cutting budget aimed at stimulating consumer demand.

Tokyo accepts the goal of reducing its surplus but draws the line at setting numerical import targets for particular industries, like auto parts. It argues, rightly, that that would be a step back toward Japan's market-rigging arrangements of the past. Washington counters that even under this government, Japan's trade surpluses keep increasing. Tokyo replies that almost every country swings into surplus when it is in a recession, and Japan is now in the fourth year of its worst postwar slump.

At next week's meeting, Mr. Clinton needs to find a graceful way to back off from his rhetorical excesses on numerical targets. In return, Mr. Hosokawa should help Mr. Clinton meet his political needs in more constructive ways, with further deregulation and strong and effective fiscal stimulus.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

A Temporary Italian Limp

Since it shook itself free of Mussolini, Italy has been a country whose politics belonged naturally to the reasonable center. Its Communists were the first to start edging away from Lenin's follies. Its neofascists had a miscalculation, and did not get many votes. It was the parties of the middle that formed Italy's perpetual government—but perpetual, as usual, eventually meant corrupt. This is why the hole in the center of next month's post-corruption-scandal election is so unnatural. Italy will not be Italy if it stays unified.

Unfilled it still is. Silvio Berlusconi, the television tycoon who last week presented himself as the man to plug the gap, hardly looks the part. His personal ambition is clear, his political philosophy much less so. The party he would like as an ally, the Northern League, is keeping its distance. So are most of his fellow industrialists. The soccer-chair name of his party, Forza Italia ("Let's go, Italy!"), suggests that he may be more sloganizer than statesman.

The man who has the best moral claim to fill the hole, Mario Segni, seems to have the opposite weakness. He is Mr. Segni who bravely and skillfully led the fight to give Italy a better voting system last year. Since then he has not seemed to know how to build a new political force. First he leaned inconclusively toward the remnants of the disgraced Christian Democrats. Then he made an overture to the Northern League and was rebuffed. It would be fine if by the time of the vote on March 27 and 28 he had made himself look like a natural leader, but it seems unlikely.

The rest of the old center is mainly rubble. Most of the ex-Christian Democrats now call themselves the Popular Party, a name that by March 29 may sound as ironic in Italian as it does in English. Some of their colleagues, finding even that much change unacceptable, go into the election as the Christian Democratic Center. Both will find it hard to shake off the Christian Democrats' shame.

As things stand, the election's probable

winner is the alliance led by the (ex-Communist) Democratic Party of the Left. That is not necessarily a disaster. The Democratic Left has said the right, responsible things about economic policy in the past few weeks. Its abandonment of Marx and Lenin is genuine. Yet, like any other left-leaning party with trade unions to keep happy, when it finds itself in government it is liable to be too kind about public spending and less than wholehearted about breaking up Italy's far too big public sector. Italy needs a government willing to be more rigorous than that. Moreover, the small parties with which the Democratic Left goes into the election are uneasy partners, and a government that included them could, like Japan's, prove wobbly.

The Democratic Left is one part of Italy's political future, but something more is needed. It will not be provided by the (ex-neofascist) National Alliance, which may collect quite a lot of votes in the south of the country but is anathema in the north, modernized by the hole. Nor is the Northern League by itself the necessary balance to the Democratic Left. It is still too rooted to its own region, and even there did not do as well as most people had expected to last year's local elections.

To be a proper modern democracy, to which governments change when the people wish, Italy needs a two-sided new center. One party or group of parties will emphasize brisk administration and economic efficiency; the center-right. The other will emphasize compassion for those who cannot enjoy the fruits of that efficiency: the center-left.

Italy may have begun to find the makings of the latter, the de-Communist Democratic Left. It still has to find its new center-right, the standard-bearer of efficiency and economic growth. If it does not find it before March 27, it must not fail to do so before the next general election. Italy needs two good legs to walk confidently into the future.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

Let Them Go With Dignity

Sam Lewis, Clifton Wharton, Les Aspin, Philip Heymann—one thing that these men have in common is that each was pushed out of Bill Clinton's government by, roughly, the end of its first year. But, importantly, that is not the only thing they have in common. There are two others. First is their qualifications. Mr. Lewis, before he came back to government to accept a Clinton administration offer to run policy planning at the State Department, had served for many years as a Foreign Service officer and an ambassador of immense skill and distinction, notably in Israel; he was widely known to be one of the best to the business.

Mr. Wharton, who accepted an administration bid to be deputy secretary of state, spent years working at home and abroad in the foreign assistance field and later went on to become chancellor of the State University of New York for 11 years, after that president of Michigan State and then head of one of the nation's largest pension and investment funds.

Mr. Aspin, certainly one of the most knowledgeable people in America on military affairs, relinquished the important—and irrevocable—chairmanship of the House Armed Services Committee to become Mr. Clinton's secretary of defense.

Mr. Heymann, the most recent pusher, came from the Harvard Law School faculty to accept Mr. Clinton's offer to be deputy attorney general. This was his third tour at the Department of Justice. He had been assistant attorney general in the Criminal Division. He had previously served at the State Department as well. So he brought not only solid legal credentials but considerable seasoning in governmental life and Justice Department affairs.

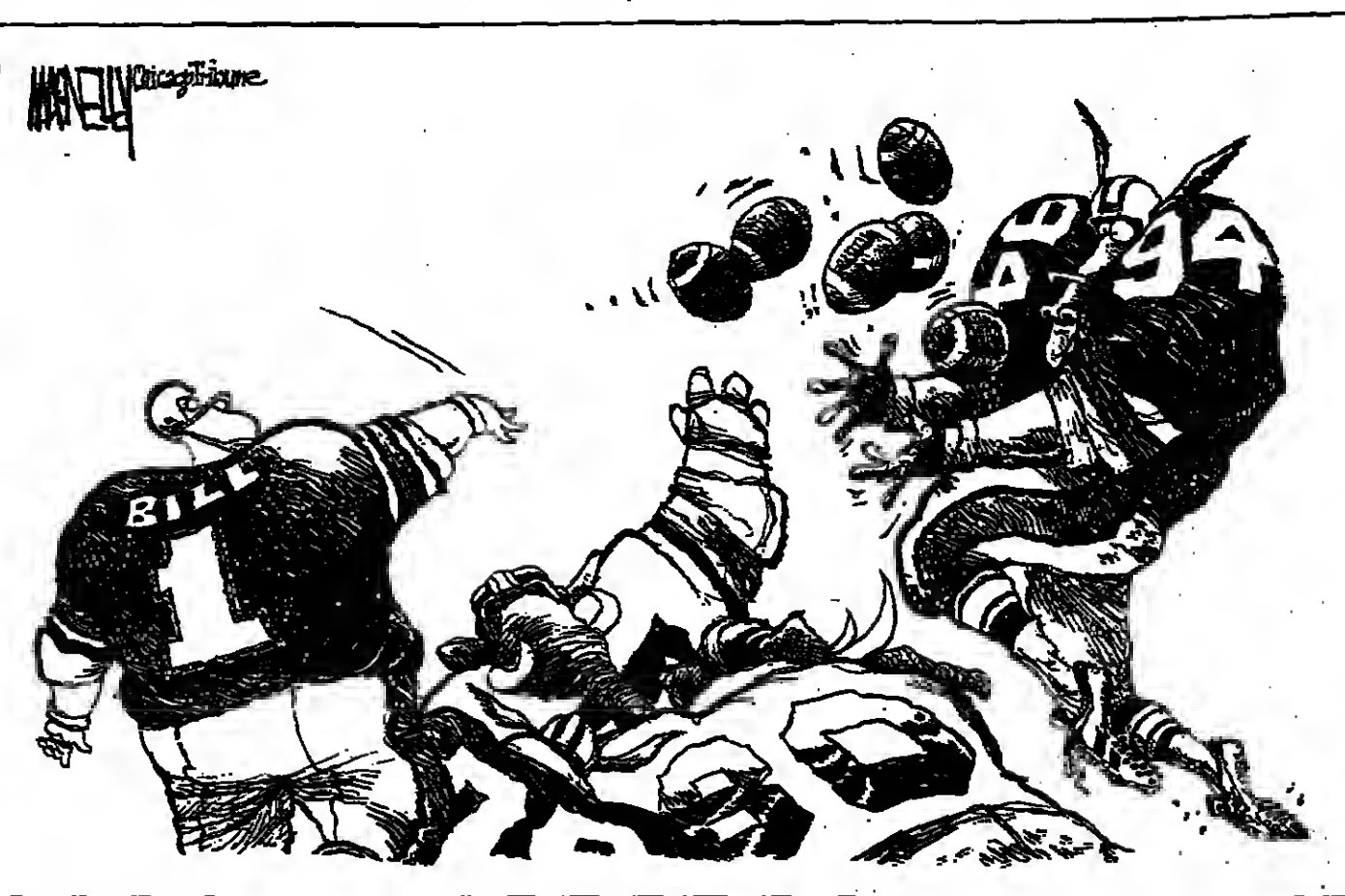
We do not question the administration's prerogative in compel the resignation of any of these estimable people at will, to decide that they are not the right people to work with the other people etc. But we do strenuously question the tacky, whispered disparagement that has followed each out of office, the unfair scapegoating for administration-wide or, in some cases, merely departmental failures (for which their bosses presumably and miraculously had no responsibility).

That is the other thing they have in common. There has been a kind of slug's trail of anonymous, whispered explanations of how each of these people was just "too academic" or "too disorganized" or "too slow" or "too unproductive" to do the job. We have to tell you: It's hard to credit. We believe there were personality clashes, there was some offloading of blame and there was some assessment of political or bureaucratic pressures in their departures.

We will even stipulate that some of them may have been the wrong persons for the particular job, given the rest of the staffing or the general "chemistry" problem. But to go it alone muttering these damaging, potentially reputation-destroying complaints about all four of these people who came in good faith to serve in Bill Clinton's government and who are by any standard of the most accomplished in their field? Is it such a wonderful way to encourage people to come to Washington to serve in government?

Some of this junk is being put about by aides and assistants who don't know a tenth of what these men know and would not know how to judge their competence in any case. The president should at a minimum let the people he decides to force out leave with dignity. The underhanded trashing of them by people to the administration threatens his dignity as well.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.



What's That About a Cheery Prognosis for Japan?

By Gregory Clark

TOKYO—The stock market is recovering. The politics have been reformed. The government promises strong anti-recessionary stimuli. The Japan scenario gets rosier by the day.

Or does it? Take the political scene first. Few seem to realize that the political reform bills passed with much drama last week carry a lethal time bomb. They may promise stronger anti-corruption laws. But by replacing the former multi-seat electoral system with single-seat electorates, Tokyo moves to a dangerously unstable two-party system.

Independents and the small reformist parties will be largely wiped out. The power broken that flourished in Japan's semi-feudal society will find the going even easier than before.

True, the previous multi-seat system also had disadvantages, since it forced candidates from rival factions to the then ruling Liberal Democratic Party to waste large sums of ill-gotten money in running against each other. Pressure by the cleaner LDP factions for changes in the system led to the LDP defections that led to the establishment of the present anti-LDP coalition government.

But among the defectors and now playing a key role in the ruling coalition was a group headed by former LDP power broker Ichiro Ozawa. Mr. Ozawa is no reformer. He was a key member of the notoriously corrupt Tanaka-Yakushiji faction, and a protégé of former LDP kingmaker Shin Kanemaru, whose involvement in recent construction and trucking industry scandals and subsequent arrest triggered recent political changes.

But by claiming to be a reformer (his sole inter-

est is early establishment of a two-party system), Mr. Ozawa and his supporters—the Japan Renewal Party—have been able to gain a new lease on political life outside the LDP. As Japan moves closer to the system he wants, the party is now well placed to become a dominant political grouping.

Unlabeled there will be a confrontation between genuine reformers in the coalition and the Ozawa supporters. Already this is starting to happen. Splits in the coalition will trigger further splits in what remains of the LDP, and the creation of yet another coalition. Hopes for political stability are remote.

Similarly with hopes for economic recovery, Japan is not simply passing through the kind of cyclical downturn common to Western economies. It has been hit simultaneously by the accumulated sins of more than two decades of economic and political mismanagement.

The most obvious sin was grossly irresponsible encouragement and toleration for land and share booms which began back in the '60s and carried asset values to stratospheric levels. Already 1,000 trillion yen has been wiped off peak values. Further falls are expected. Only an economy as strong as Japan's could hope to survive such a blow.

But Japan also faces the equally savage blow of yen appreciation. Decades of encouragement for expanded exports, chronic yen undervaluation and benign neglect of the domestic economy have created an export-dependent economy now being

squeezed remorselessly by even minute upticks in the yen-dollar rate. And it is a vicious squeeze—yen appreciation, manufacturing cutbacks, domestic deflation, more pressure to expand exports and cut imports, more pressure for yen appreciation.

Given the mood of Washington-Tokyo trade talks, the squeeze can only get worse as Washington resorts to the only weapon it has left—benign toleration of further yen appreciation.

Tokyo can of course try artificially to inflate its domestic economy. But planned measures will have doubtful impact. Promised relaxation of wasteful bureaucratic controls, for example, will have an initial deflationary effect as middlemen and brokers see fat profits cut. Promised income tax cuts will end up mainly as increased savings, and be neutralized in any case by the compensating tax increases demanded by Japan's conservative fiscal authorities.

Some hold out hopes of unleashing pent-up demand by millions of frustrated consumers anxious for a better life. But are they really so frustrated? Many of them like life just as it is. They prefer saving to spending, especially now, when the mood of the nation has swung so firmly to pessimism.

In this situation the solution is obvious—expanded public spending to take up the slack in consumer and company spending. But Japan's fiscal conservatives say "no," while at the same time misbanding the tax reforms that would give them the funds to be able to say "yes." It's sad to see a beautiful economy ruined so easily.

International Herald Tribune.

New Threats Desperately Require New Thinking

By Stephen R. Graubard

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts—

Not since the beginning of World War II has there been a State of the Union address comparable to that delivered by President Bill Clinton, in which foreign affairs figured so very incidentally. If his intention was to provide the outlines of a "domestic renewal plan," the only issue known to be of great concern to the American public and the Congress, the president gave the speech his hands tied behind his back.

If, in the process, he provided scant vision of the hazards that exist to the world outside the United States, and few recommendations for remedying those hazards, his evasion cannot be said to be more serious than that of other heads of government, including those of the European Union.

It is a fact that the president's shyness about proclaiming the need for a "new world order" does not reflect simply an innate modesty, an unwillingness to use the exaggerated prose so common to his ill-fated predecessor. The errors made in the last year, to respect to Haiti, Somalia, Bosnia and other flash points, are almost inconsequential beside the greater error—the failure to conceptualize international economic, political, military, social and cultural relations in a new frame. If the concept of "partnership" is too difficult to translate into international agreements or pressing issues, the concept of "alliance" may be even more antique.

It is not the fact that the NATO alliance is frayed or that the United Nations is impotent that defines the international situation today; more important is that the most prosperous and stable democracies, the United States, certainly, but also Germany, Japan, Britain, France and Italy are overwhelmingly preoccupied with what they conceive to be their own compelling internal problems.

If the greater number of those countries resolved decades ago the kinds of issues that now preoccupy the American president—providing universal health care, for example—they are best by other conditions no less serious, capable of upstaging governments, creating strange new internal alliances between those known to

be disillusioned and disaffected. In the circumstances, Bosnia is indeed distant, but so is Ukraine, not to speak of Korea; distant, that is, from London and Paris, Bonn and Rome, but also from Washington.

The president's remarks on foreign policy were vicious. But it would be difficult to find a better definition of today's foreign policy dilemmas than the speech of other heads of government or, indeed, of their foreign ministers. Five years after the beginning of the unraveling of the Soviet empire, the states of the European Union, like the United States, Canada and Japan, have little notion of what can be done to cope with even those foreign policy issues recognized to be compelling.

What is to be done? There is a desperate need for a "foreign policy renewal plan" that acknowledges three basic conditions:

• Military intervention in troubled areas will be thought dangerous by many, and not only politicians, in democracies disinclined to risk the

lives of their military forces, even in numbers that would have been thought minimal only a decade ago; • Economic prosperity is the one universally acknowledged good, and is dependent on social peace being maintained in a world where the poor are many times more numerous than the economically secure;

• The need for an "intellectual revolution" in 1994, comparable to the one that occurred in the five years after World War II, is absolutely mandatory, and has not occurred.

The theme of intervention needs to be re-examined, not only with reference to a system of nuclear dissuasion that evolved in the years after World War II, but with reference to all the other kinds of sanctions that were once thought to be powerful.

In today's conditions, national policies on education, justice, immigration, industrial growth, urban development, employment, communism, capitalism and intellectual and cultural exchange are as central to foreign policy as they are to internal development. To the extent that they can be coordinated internationally, to that extent are they made more effective.

It is not enough to go on prating about the virtues of free markets or about the purported evils of nationalism. Both reflect conditions of modernity that generate their own enthusiasm but also major misgivings; both are disruptive of the quiet world that existed when communism could be relied on to provide both a utopia for some and an enemy for others. If nuclear and thermonuclear weapons created the incentive for "new thinking" almost half a century ago, it is other kinds of measures that need to be considered, and it is not enough to imagine that they all relate to the population explosion or environmental degradation.

The writer is editor of *Daedalus*, the journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He contributed this column to the *Herald Tribune*.

When Things Were Distinctly Better

By Richard Cohen

NEW YORK—Back in the

'60s, I knew an itinerant actor named George. Once, at a party, he stripped down to his shorts and engaged in a political argument—proving, he said, that it was no longer possible to be considered a handout. He also said that he frequently went into office buildings, ate in the employees' cafeteria, sometimes taking a desk and using the phone. Which part of that story strikes the contemporary reader as inconceivable?

It is the last part, the part about just walking into a strange building without being stopped by security. Because of crime, no one can walk into most buildings in New York or any American city without a pass.

Because of crime, you need, in many American cities, either a token or exact change to get on a bus. Because of crime, people live in guarded, fenced communities or behind barred windows. Many houses have security systems, and so do most cars. And in too many homes, a handgun near the bed is essential for a good night's sleep.

Nevertheless, some liberals and some commentators seem to think it is no big problem. With commendable accuracy, they cite statistics to suggest that the public and its elected representatives are in an unjustified panic about crime. Those who share this view have the numbers on their side (certain numbers, anyway), but they are confusing better with best. Things may be better than they used to be; they are not as good as they once were.

In fact, what are now common security precautions—expensive, onerous and inconvenient—may account for some of the decline in the crime rate. In Washington's Iony Georgetown neighborhood, for

instance, some homeowners have hired private security guards.

The fear of crime has severely circumscribed our lives. Determining where we live and how we live—and the reminders of it are everywhere, not just on the local television news. In that sense, it may not matter much that violent crime has dropped since the 1980s. What matters more is that it is up since 1973, and in some categories—gun violence involving young people—it is up dramatically.

Since 1979, for instance, the homicide rate among young black males aged 15 to 19 has quadrupled.

In Los Angeles the phrase du jour is "post-traumatic distress syndrome"—a kind of psychic after-shock brought on by the earthquake. Something similar is probably happening when it comes to crime. The rates for most violent crimes are down, but the average American does not think so—it just doesn't feel that way.

It is this feeling, expressed in polling data, that is fueling the effort by Congress and the Clinton administration to toughen penalties, add cops to the streets and, it seems, extend the death penalty to cover everything short of spitting on the sidewalk. The politicians are giving expression to what the voters are feeling. They are afraid and angry.

Congressional liberals and others, though, keep pointing at the numbers and insisting that everything else is overreacting. When it comes to specific recommendations—a draconian "three strikes and you're out" proposal, for instance—they have a point. What they seem not to understand is that the

base year for measuring crime is not some date in the 1980s but a non-specific year when, in our memories, back doors were open during the day and the setting of the sun in many cities did not have the effect of a neutron bomb. The buildings remain, but the people are gone.

Liberals who say that "three strikes and you're out" is mindless and cruel are right. They are right, too, about mandatory minimum sentencing laws, which treat all criminals without reference to their differences—and all judges as if they were dopes. But they miss the point if they think that the dip in crime statistics ought to be reflected almost immediately in a more sanguine public attitude toward crime and criminals. They would do far better to acknowledge the problem and limit their attack to the more simplistic of the solutions.

Ronald Reagan was adept at summoning the nostalgic past to advance his political program. But even stripped of nostalgia, it is possible to remember a time when buildings were open to the public and bus drivers made change.

Recently, for instance, a hospital trade publication reported that it had difficulty finding a free-lance photographer brave enough to go into a certain New York City neighborhood, Far Rockaway. Not long ago Far Rockaway was a bucolic seaside community where fear of crime was about the same as fear of nuclear war. I grew up there. We kept our doors locked, but not with any sense of urgency.

For many of us, that time is our point of reference. It is not a statistic, but a date or an era—not when things were merely less worse, but when they were distinctly better.

The Washington Post.

Clinton Has A Sense Of Timing

By Anna Quindlen

NEW YORK—Bill Clinton gives a good speech. There is in him a bit of the preacher, some of the earnest high school orator, a little carnival barker and some door-to-door salesman. You could tell how well his State of the Union address played by how fast his political opponents rushed to judge it empty rhetoric.

Before, the Gallup Poll found that 67 percent of those who surveyed thought the president was on the right track. Afterward the number rose to 85 percent.

And that wasn't only because President Clinton can deliver a speech as though he were the Fuller Brush man and you were out of dusting rag, or because he sometimes sounded more Republican than Bob Dole, with a million times the charm. It's that his timing is right.

Let's go back to George Bush's first State of the Union, and to Ronald Reagan's, too, 12 years ago. Mr. Reagan's proposal for a New Federalism—remember that?—made only a casual and condescending mention of the growing deficit. "Raise present taxes to cut future deficits," they tell us—well, I don't buy that argument," said the man who would preside over Jurassic deficit, huge and out of control.

Here is a blast from the past: The first big applause line in President Bush's first State of the Union was "Pamama is free!" He went on to devote five sentences to the deficit, and informed the American people that the secretary of the House and the Senate would be studying the subject of "the quality, accessibility and cost of our nation's health care system."

But before Bill Clinton even gave his first official State of the Union message on Jan. 25, he had given two other substantive, nationally televised speeches, one on deficit reduction and the other on universal health care.

His opponents will say these issues are straw men, tell you that the economy will take care of the deficit, and that the health care system has problems but no crisis. But they cannot see the fact that millions of Americans, even those who don't fully understand federal spending or managed competition, have come to perceive both deficit reduction and health care provision as long-overdue areas of reform.

"They cannot will away the fact that, by the time Governor Clinton became President Clinton, both government and health care spending had become so monumental that the time was precisely right to showcase both. And Mr. Clinton did just that."

Some of his greatest failures have come when, as with gay men and lesbians in the military or an end to the HIV exclusion for immigrants, he has been challenged to be an unconstructive liberal on social issues. Now, reconstructed, he came down heavily on crime and welfare reform in his first State of the Union.

He is too smart to think that either issue is as simple as people would like or as he made them sound. For a start, you can't reform welfare unless you reform crime. And you can't reform crime without addressing the root causes of crime just guarantees that America's biggest growth industry will be the manufacture of felons.

But violent crime and welfare dependency have become problems so pressing that the time is right not only for a president to attack both, but for a Democratic president to do so, co-opting Republicans.

And without reprisals from the usual suspects, liberals will never be swayed by "two years and out" for welfare or "three strikes and you're out" for felons. But the timing is right for broad-based action on crime and welfare, even if they happen to be true.

Mr. Clinton's first State of the Union was a little like the story of the blind men and the elephant, in which each man feels the animal and then constructs something wildly different, in his mind's eye, from disparate parts: part new Democrat, part old Republican, part progressive and populist and Partiot. Vision as Chinese menu, column A and column B.

But when the timing is right for that, too, for the president who insists that pragmatism is the only useful ideology. Now there will be negotiations, and concessions, and home trading, and in the end reducing the deficit and providing universal health care and crafting a crime bill and reforming welfare may owe at least as much to Republican legislators as to Democratic policy wonks. But no one will remember that. Bill Clinton named and claimed it. His timing was impeccable. And in politics, as in so much else, timing can be everything.

The New York Times.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: Jewish Unemployed

LONDON—There were about one thousand men at Tower Hill yesterday [Feb. 3]. One Lewis Lyons addressed the meeting. He advised the Jewish unemployed to stay out of the clutches of the police. They had a perfect right, he said, to look at the well-stocked bakers' shops in Fleet street and wonder why the bread should get stale. There were plenty of jewellers' shops in Fleet street, and though he did not advise them to steal, yet he did not help wondering when looking at the diamond rings worth £150 each, why they should be lying there idle while thousands were starving.

1919: Fete for Wilson

PARIS—Setting aside precedents which have been broken since France became a Republic, President Poincaré and the Senators of France joined with the Deputies yesterday [Feb. 3] to do honor to President

Wilson, who was given a historic reception in the Chamber. Every man and woman present rose as President Wilson, the first foreign Chief of State to set foot in the Chamber, entered the building, and they remained standing until he had taken his seat amid a tremendous ovation.

1944: Raiders Fly Blind

AMERICAN FORCES BASE, ENGLAND—[From our New York edition:] A fleet of more than 1,100 planes today through snowstorms today [Feb. 3] to attack the great German naval base and shipbuilding center at Wilhelmshaven. The bombers loosed nearly 1,500 tons of high explosives through the thick cloud that blanketed the German city, one of the operational bases used by the Nazi North Sea fleet for attacks on shipping to Russia. The stiffest opposition to the American raiders came from the weather. Many of the pilot from their ships blind without seeing their neighbor bombers in the formation.



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Directeur de la Publication: Richard D. Simmons

International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. Tel. (1) 46 37 93 00. Fax: Circulation, 46 37 06 51; Advertising, 46 37 52 12.

Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Convent Road, Singapore 0511. Tel. (65) 475 7700. Fax: (65) 724 2334. Mgr. Dir. Asia: Rolf D. Krampehl, 50 Gloucester Rd., Hong Kong. Tel. (852) 401 0116. Fax: (852) 261 3073.

Mgr. Dir. U.S.: Gary Thomas, 63 Long Acre, London WC2E 9LT. Tel. (071) 836 4802. Fax: (071) 261 2254. Gen. Mgr. Germany: W. Lauerbach, Friedrichstr. 15, 10117 Frankfurt/AM, Tel. (069) 72 67 55. Fax: (069) 72 77 10.

Pres. U.S.: Michael Corman, 830 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022. Tel. (212) 752 3860. Fax: (212) 752 5705. S.A. au capital de 1,200,000 F. RCS Nanterre B 732021120. Commission Paritaire No. 61337.

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OPINION

Let Us Not Be Shy About It: Tough Criticism Is Our Job

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Why is it, whenever public figures mean about the rigors of public scrutiny, some journalists feel called upon to dive into their hair-shirts, ostentatiously flagellate themselves and engage in paroxysms of mea culpa?

The preceding paragraph is hyperbole, a Latin word signifying to throw a ball beyond the limits. Hyperbole is a time-honored tradition in

to call attention to his failure to pay Social Security taxes, then declared "that drive-by-shooting quality, that has made a lot of people very reticent to go into public life." (She meant "reluctant.")

A generation ago, in my Nixon years, I saw how robust media criticism could be inhibited by suppressing fire. Patrick Buchanan wrote a speech for Spiro Agnew to deliver in Des Moines blasting the unelected elite; that was the end of "instant analysis" and the start of much of the media's antsy self-consciousness about the power of the press.

Not every journalist joins in the general self-bashing. The other night on television, Ted Koppel characterized Oliver North, the candidate for a Virginia senatorial nomination, as "an accomplished liar and a shameless self-promoter."

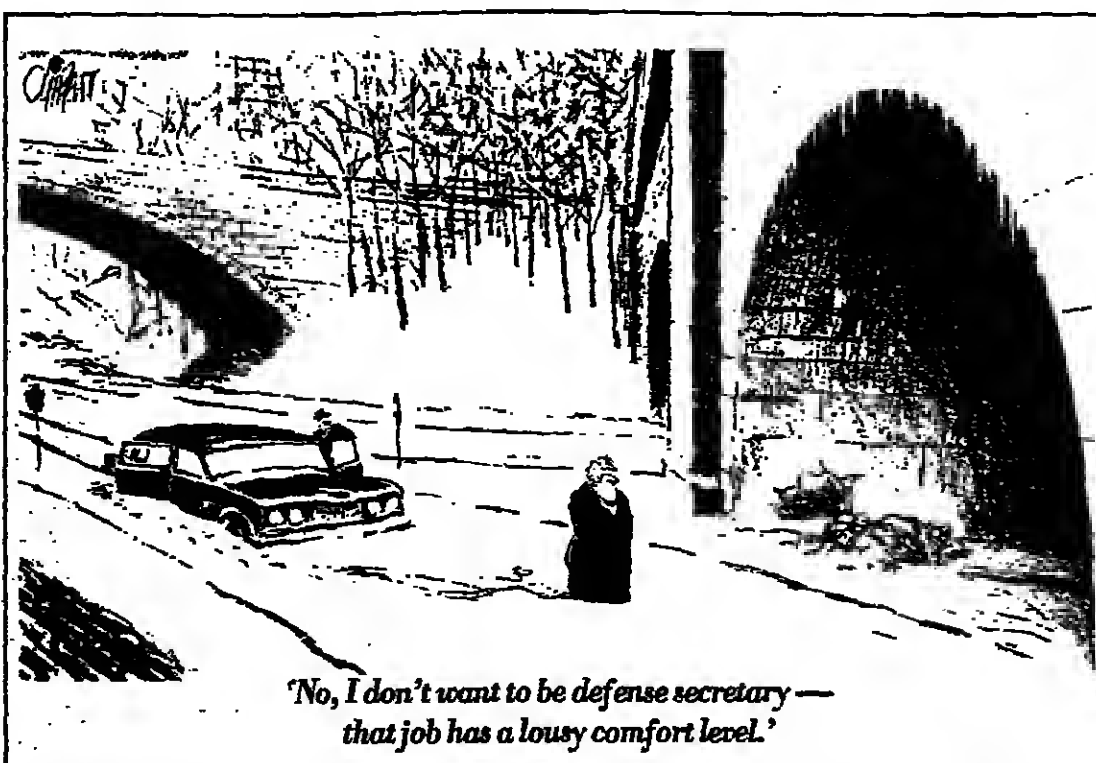
When the media critic of the Los Angeles Times, Howard Rosenberg, intimated that this "was a little over the line," ABC's Mr. Koppel held his ground: after all, a jury convicted Mr. North of lying before the verdict was set aside. (Mr. North lapped up the media exposure and did not withdraw his candidacy.)

Confirmation hearings can besmear the reputations of good people: Clement Haynsworth, Robert Bork, John Tower and Clarence Thomas come to mind. (Not much liberal breast-beating resistance to the attorneys Lani Guinier and Robert Fiske — is another man's "close scrutiny and fair criticism.")

The columnist Ellen Goodman, also chastised by Mr. Inman for daring to call attention to his failure to pay Social Security taxes, then declared "that drive-by-shooting quality, that has made a lot of people very reticent to go into public life." (She meant "reluctant.")

But tough-minded confirmation hearings, and the press scrutiny leading up to them, test the mettle of nominees much as a campaign shows us how candidates react under fire. Sex lives should be "over the line," but business records, previous official service, speeches and writings should be sifted and examined closely. That keeps some sensitive souls out of politics, but the rough-and-tumble keeps politics clean.

And rigorous confirmations enable Congress and the press to get answers not otherwise available. Back-scratching networks are illuminated. The Pentagon lawyer James Gorelick was chosen by Hillary Clinton's law partner Webster Hubbell (who



happens, why choose the liberal Mr. Fiske, known to be anathema to conservatives?

Because Mr. Heymann wanted someone else — Donald Ayre — who insisted that no lawyer-client privilege be taken by Mr. Nussbaum and the Clintons.

But the malleable Mr. Fiske made no such demands — which is why the General Services Administration has just signed a three-year lease for Mr. Fiske's headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Call this savage abuse? Ideological zealotry? Spare us the hair shirts; we are doing our job.

The writer is a former CIA director. He contributed this column to The Washington Post.

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It Was a Good Year on Film, Beginning With 'Much Ado'

By Richard Reeves

LOS ANGELES — For the record, I thought "Schindler's List" was a better movie than "The Piano." If you are into things Irish, I thought "The Snapper" was closer to truth than "In the Name of the Father."

Whether or not the voters of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences agree with me, or with you, these movies are serious works of serious purpose. Perhaps something is going on that I don't know about.

Like most everyone in my business, I have taken a bit of readers' time to wait about violence and mindlessness in

MOVIES AND TELEVISION — particularly the latter. I am no great student of these things, but I sure have seen a lot of good movies lately.

In addition to those above, I have seen "The Age of Innocence," "Farewell My Concubine" (from China) and "The Accomplice" (from France). Plus "Beethoven's 2nd," a very funny movie that there were a string of good movies through 1993. "Much Ado About Nothing" comes to mind — it had a great script.

The existence of those films and the popularity of most of them are an small accomplishment in a medium where somebody has to put together at least \$10 million even to think about turning on the lights. All this is happening at a time when, if an American wants to see more than a couple of pieces of good theater, he needs a passport and ticket to London.

And, baring the hand that feeds me, this is also a time when book best-seller lists are dominated by the fantasies of Howard Stern and the guy who wrote "The Bridges of Madison County."

There may be a logical explanation for the current wave of good films — an international explanation, since so many of the ones I liked were foreign — and that is the fact that so many talented young people are being drawn to film rather than to the stage, television, journalism or the loneliness of book writing.

In Hollywood, there is a joke about God coming in Mother Teresa and offering her anything on earth as reward for her good works. Money, pleasure, youth — she turns it all down. Finally God says there must be something, and she says, "Well, maybe I could direct."

Being a director (or even a lowly actor or lowly screenwriter) seems to be the ambition of about half of young America, beginning with my three sons. Those kids are the recent equivalents of people who once wanted to be playwrights like Kaufman and Hart or star reporters like Woodward and Bernstein.

This year's movies showcase enormous talent, and you get the sense that there is more where that came from.

There is a price to be paid, of course, to get to work in a certain seriousness — or just in the kind of work you want to do — in a corporate culture as intensely commercial as the movie business. If you want to do a quirky black-and-white film about the Holocaust, it helps a lot to be Steven Spielberg, maker of billions in films about extraterrestrials and dinosaurs.

The same is true of Martin Scorsese, who has made a lot of people a lot of money with films, good films, where blood flows in rivers. It is hard to imagine the expression on a studio chief's face when Mr. Scorsese said he wanted to do Edith Wharton; in fact, it is hard to imagine that any executive knew what Edith Wharton was done lately.

That, though, is the way it works in any "creative" business. The reward for making a successful movie is the chance to do another. Then, if you stay lucky, one day you get a chance to do what you want to do — no matter that everyone else thinks you're crazy.

"Stick with what works" is usually the motto of bottom-liners who have no idea what works.

At any rate, the business of making popular films seems to me to have had a very creative year, one to be proud of, hopefully one that will be repeated again and again with new names and dreams.

Let's face it, print peers, this is not only what young people want to do, it is a way they want to teach and learn. "Schindler's List" has the reach and impact that books once had — the kind of influence William Shirer's "Rise and Fall of the Third Reich" had on people like me.

Universal Press Syndicate.

Show the Children

SHOULD we take our youngsters to see "Schindler's List"? Should we expose them to the excruciating assault on the dignity of men, women and children during the horror of the Holocaust? Or will we inadvertently lay a heavy stone of despair upon their hearts?

It is important that they know what happened. It is perilous to raise children in ignorance of the past.

The question is not whether to know or to remember but what to remember and how to serve the honor of that memory so that it strengthens our moral and moral. Oskar Schindler, the Roman Catholic rescuer, represents that small but precious number of human beings who risked their fortunes and lives to rescue people not of their faith. In every country that the Nazi predators invaded, there were ordinary men and women who refused to succumb to the ugly rationalization that there is no alternative to passive complicity with inhumanity.

Our children must know it all.

— Rabbi Harold M. Schulweis, commenting in the Los Angeles Times.

Hard-Learned Lessons From One Who Has Been in the Cross Hairs

By Robert M. Gates

WASHINGTON — The decision of my friend Bobby Inman to withdraw his nomination to be secretary of defense and now the naming of another friend, Bill Perry, for the same job prompt some personal observations on the nomination and confirmation process.

It is a process I know well from three very different nominations. I know from personal experience the joy of quick and unanimous confirmation, the pain of withdrawal and the satisfaction of strong, bipartisan confirmation after a long and contentious struggle. I come away from it all convinced that the Senate must be free to conduct the most searching inquiry as part of confirmation. No area of personal or professional life of those nominated to the most senior positions in government should be beyond scrutiny.

If this is true for the Senate, then it will also be true for journalists. But I also believe that senators and journalists have an obligation to conduct their inquiries responsibly, open-mindedly and with regard for fairness, accuracy and the dignity of all concerned. Special care is warranted on matters relating to a nominee's character and integrity.

Of the hundreds of dedicated and skilled senior government officials I have known working for six presidents of both parties, I have never known one who was not deeply affected by a public attack on his or her character or integrity.

No one forgets such attacks. Some swallow hard at the price of public service and go on without bitterness. Some go forward burdened by rancor and cynicism. And some simply withdraw.

But no one who has not been "in the cross hairs" can know the pain caused even by the toughest nominee by an off-handed comment by a senator or a play and newspaper, journalists should work harder to get the full story when offered a juicy tidbit, especially when tendered by a source who does not want to be named or by someone with an obvious agenda or vendetta.

And the White House and Senate should establish new ground rules relaxing the long-required public silence of nominees between the announcement of an appointment and Senate hearings to allow a nominee the right of self-defense — especially on issues of character or past actions.

For prospective nominees, when you accept nomination to a senior position, the odds are that confirmation will be fairly painless and mostly unnoticed. But prepare yourself and your family for the worst. If you are in the private sector, prepare for intense examination of your professional life and your income, and be prepared to have the activities of your children and other relatives hared, personal and marital problems aired, and friends as well as business or professional associates investigated.

If you are in government, expect to carry baggage from one administration to the next. You will properly hear the cumulative weight of all your actions and decisions over the years.

A final point. The nomination and confirmation process for just about everyone — even those who skate through — is a lot like a root canal. But if you are successful, and most nominees are, the challenge and honor of public service and the satisfaction of tackling the nation's problems, of helping to make history, make it all worthwhile. If the president calls, I hope you can accept.

The writer is a former CIA director. He contributed this column to The Washington Post.

jective observers — and thus carry more weight. Such attacks, even if baseless, remain part of the nominee's public record forever.

Because close scrutiny is critical to public trust, I recommend no change to the formal process of nomination and confirmation. Nor should press scrutiny of nominees be eased.

But I would urge the Senate and the media to reflect on their parts in it. I would encourage members of Congress to be more restrained in offering off-the-cuff, and often poorly informed, comments about a nominee. In the interest of fair play and objectivity, journalists should work harder to get the full story when offered a juicy tidbit, especially when tendered by a source who does not want to be named or by someone with an obvious agenda or vendetta.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Early Hitler-Stalin Collaboration Is Bunk

Regarding "Evidence of Nazi-Communist Collusion Behind the Propaganda" (Opinion, Jan. 25), by Stephen Koch:

What an interesting but specious mélange of semiconnected elements Mr. Koch uses to cobble together a theory of Hitler-Stalin collaboration in 1933. Unfortunately, it fails, beginning with the contention that the night of the Reichstag fire was a "breeding night" on Feb. 27, 1933 (Rudolf Diels, Gestapo head, wrote in his memoirs that it was "a dreary, dreary evening").

The contention that the Bulgarian Georgi Dimitrov was freed in a conspiracy, that the "Night of the Long Knives," when the SA storm trooper chief, Ernst Röhm, and the rest of the brown-shirt leadership were executed by the SS black shirts, said that Hitler and Stalin had some tacit understanding (the Ruth Fischer theory) would be very convenient. Unfortunately, they are most unlikely.

There are unending theories about the Reichstag fire. All were tried, many discredited. The most likely should have been that the Nazis set it themselves, by way of a secret passage from Hermann Göring's newly refurbished palace. Berlin's fire chief, Walter Gumpel, who probably knew the whole story, was arrested and then found dead in his cell. Heussner, the nightclub clairvoyant and Nazi confidant, who had quasi-predicted the fire, and who was said to have recognized the deranged Dutch Communist who confessed it

MARKET DIARY

Interest Rate Moves
Drag Stocks Lower

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Concerns that the Federal Reserve Board may raise U.S. interest rates for the first time in nearly five years pressured stock and bond prices on Thursday.

The Dow Jones industrial average closed down 7.83 points, at 3,967.66, with losers outnumbering gainers on the New York Stock Exchange by a 3-to-2 ratio.

Trading continued the brisk pace seen in recent days.

Market focus was kept on interest rates since Monday, when the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan, said the central bank was inclined to lift short-term interest rates before inflationary threats developed.

The Federal Open Market Committee met in Washington on Thursday, fueling speculation the Fed would push up interest rates on Friday after the key employment figures for January are released.

The Fed's failure to act during its customary intervention time on Thursday despite a firm federal funds rate also kindled rate concerns. Although the Fed's inaction may have been technical in nature, some analysts said it increased the probability of a tightening move.

The possibility of a Fed move

drove the benchmark 30-year Treasury bond down 9/32, to 99 9/32, in late trading, with the yield moving up to 6.30 percent from 6.28 percent.

Weakness in Woolworth, which fell 1 1/4 to 24 1/4, helped drag down the Dow, with the stock hit by a weak earnings projection from the retailer.

RJR Nabisco led the New York Stock Exchange's most-active list, gaining 1/4 to 7 1/4. The company said it knew of no reason for the unusually active trade. Philip Morris also rose, gaining 1/4 to 60 1/4.

Wal-Mart Stores rose 1/4 to 28 after having its investment rating raised by Kidder Peabody. Wal-Mart was among the national chains reporting January sales. Industrywide, sales were poor largely because of severe weather and the California earthquake.

Consolidated leaders included Venetian, which tumbled 4 to 35 1/2 in heavy over-the-counter trading. Hambrecht & Quist slashed the stock to "underperform" from "buy" citing competitive pressures on the medical supply company.

Maytag fell 2 1/4 to 17 1/4 on the New York Stock Exchange after reporting earnings of 16 cents a share in its fourth quarter, up from 11 cents a year before but below estimates.

(Knight-Ridder, Bloomberg, AP)

Fear of the Fed Pushes
Dollar Up Against Mark

Bloomberg Business News

NEW YORK — The dollar rose Thursday against the Deutsche mark and other currencies amid speculation that the Federal Reserve Board might raise interest rates soon.

The dollar's rise against the yen was restrained, however, when the

Foreign Exchange

members of Japan's coalition government failed to agree on tax cuts. Many traders bought dollars Thursday morning after the Fed unexpectedly failed to add reserves to the U.S. banking system to drive the federal funds rate down from 3 1/4 percent. The funds rate is what banks charge each other for overnight loans. Analysts had expected the Fed to keep the rate at 3 percent.

"More people are looking for a rate increase after today," said Dennis Pettit, foreign-exchange manager in New York for Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan. Currency traders kept a close eye on the fed funds rate Thursday because the Fed's Open Market Committee was meeting in Washington to set monetary policy for the next six weeks.

Speculation about a rate increase heated up Monday when the central bank chairman, Alan Greenspan, said rates would rise "at some point" as the economy expanded.

The dollar closed Thursday at 1.7415 DM, up from 1.7334 DM on Wednesday. The U.S. currency rose to 5.9065 French francs from 5.8825 francs and to 1.4515 Swiss francs from 1.4510 francs. The pound fell to \$1.4874 from \$1.4956.

The dollar edged up to 108.15 yen from 108.05 yen.

The dollar dipped momentarily after Germany's Bundesbank left its own discount rate unchanged at 5.75 percent.

Many traders were reluctant to buy or sell the dollar aggressively before Friday's report on U.S. employment in January. Without steady job creation, the Fed is considered unlikely to raise rates to control the inflation that usually accompanies an expansion.

The dollar was sold against the yen after leaders of Japan's coalition government failed to agree on tax cuts. Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa's plan to cut the nation's taxes by 6 trillion yen (\$55 billion).



NYSE Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
IBM	102.50	102.00	102.50	+0.50
Microsoft	55.00	54.50	55.00	+0.50
Oracle	45.00	44.50	45.00	+0.50
Novell	35.00	34.50	35.00	+0.50
Lotus	25.00	24.50	25.00	+0.50
Intel	15.00	14.50	15.00	+0.50
AMD	10.00	9.50	10.00	+0.50
ATI	5.00	4.50	5.00	+0.50
3Com	3.00	2.50	3.00	+0.50
Apple	2.00	1.50	2.00	+0.50

AMEX Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Gold	380.00	375.00	380.00	+5.00
Silver	12.00	11.50	12.00	+0.50
Copper	1.50	1.45	1.50	+0.05
Platinum	800.00	790.00	800.00	+10.00
Palladium	150.00	145.00	150.00	+5.00
Rhodium	250.00	240.00	250.00	+10.00
Iridium	100.00	95.00	100.00	+5.00
Neodymium	50.00	45.00	50.00	+5.00
Europium	20.00	15.00	20.00	+5.00
Terbium	10.00	5.00	10.00	+5.00

NYSE Diary

Adv.	Decl.	Unch.	Net
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15

Amex Diary

Adv.	Decl.	Unch.	Net
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15

NASDAQ Diary

Adv.	Decl.	Unch.	Net
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15
114	129	81	15

Dow Jones Averages

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
Dow Jones	3967.66	3975.54	3968.54	3974.49
S&P 500	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NASDAQ	2150.54	2160.54	2145.54	2155.54

Standard & Poor's Indexes

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
Industrials	567.54	570.54	565.54	568.54
Technology	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Healthcare	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Consumer Goods	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Financial	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Energy	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Telecommunications	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Real Estate	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Utilities	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Transportation	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54

NYSE Indexes

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
NYSE Composite	3967.66	3975.54	3968.54	3974.49
NYSE-100	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE-200	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE-300	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE-400	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE-500	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE-600	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE-700	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE-800	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE-900	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54

NASDAQ Indexes

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
NASDAQ Composite	2150.54	2160.54	2145.54	2155.54
NASDAQ-100	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NASDAQ-200	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NASDAQ-300	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NASDAQ-400	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NASDAQ-500	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NASDAQ-600	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NASDAQ-700	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NASDAQ-800	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NASDAQ-900	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54

AMEX Stock Index

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
AMEX Composite	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
AMEX-100	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
AMEX-200	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
AMEX-300	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
AMEX-400	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
AMEX-500	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
AMEX-600	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
AMEX-700	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
AMEX-800	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
AMEX-900	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54

Dow Jones Bond Averages

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
Dow Jones Bond	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Dow Jones Bond-100	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Dow Jones Bond-200	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Dow Jones Bond-300	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Dow Jones Bond-400	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Dow Jones Bond-500	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Dow Jones Bond-600	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Dow Jones Bond-700	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Dow Jones Bond-800	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Dow Jones Bond-900	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54

Market Sales

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
Market Sales	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Market Sales-100	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Market Sales-200	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Market Sales-300	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Market Sales-400	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Market Sales-500	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Market Sales-600	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Market Sales-700	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Market Sales-800	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
Market Sales-900	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54

NYSE Odd-Lot Trading

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
NYSE Odd-Lot	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE Odd-Lot-100	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE Odd-Lot-200	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE Odd-Lot-300	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE Odd-Lot-400	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE Odd-Lot-500	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE Odd-Lot-600	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE Odd-Lot-700	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE Odd-Lot-800	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
NYSE Odd-Lot-900	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54

S&P 100 Index Options

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
S&P 100 Index Options	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
S&P 100 Index Options-100	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
S&P 100 Index Options-200	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
S&P 100 Index Options-300	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
S&P 100 Index Options-400	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
S&P 100 Index Options-500	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
S&P 100 Index Options-600	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
S&P 100 Index Options-700	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
S&P 100 Index Options-800	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
S&P 100 Index Options-900	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54

U.S. Futures

Index	Open	High	Low	Prev. Close
U.S. Futures	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
U.S. Futures-100	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
U.S. Futures-200	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
U.S. Futures-300	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
U.S. Futures-400	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
U.S. Futures-500	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
U.S. Futures-600	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
U.S. Futures-700	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
U.S. Futures-800	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54
U.S. Futures-900	1025.24	1030.54	1024.54	1028.54

U.S. Seeks to Calm Movie Trade Debate

BRUSSELS — The United States has been trying to tone down its dispute with Europe over access to Hollywood films and Europe's desire to protect its cinema, a U.S. official said Thursday.

Joan Spero, U.S. ambassador to the European Union, said she had held talks in Brussels in recent days in which she expressed the U.S. wish for a change in discussions of the issue.

EUROPEAN FUTURES

Fox Boosts News Corp. Earnings

Bid Lifts Stock

Demand for CL

Demand for CL

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

overbearing — as in 1980-1989 — and since 1992 — and the uncertainty related to China's potentially difficult leadership succession."

IAI Chooses Pratt & Whitney

777s from Boeing Co. and two options on 10 more.

Herald Tribune

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Herald INTERNATIONAL **Tribune**

Sales figures are unaffected. Yearly highs and lows reflect the current sales at the current prices, but not the trading area. Where a split or stock dividend amounts to 25 percent or more, the new stock price is based on the 25 percent dividend. Where the new stock price is lower, the trading area, rules of dividends are annual distributions based on:

- a — dividend only (exempt).
- b — stock split or dividend plus stock dividend.
- c — stock split.
- d — new yearly low.
- e — stock split or dividend or paid in previous 12 months.
- f — dividend in Canadian funds, subject to 15% non-residence.
- g — dividend declared after split-up or stock dividend.
- h — dividend paid this year, omitted, deferred, or no action taken or no action.
- i — dividend declared or sold this year, on accumulative.
- j — new high or low in the past 52 weeks. The high-low range begins with the first trade.
- k — most day delivery.
- l — no trade.
- m — dividend or paid in preceding 12 months, plus.
- n — stock split. Dividend begins with date of split.
- o — dividend paid in stock in preceding 12 months, estimated cash value on ex-dividend or ex-split portion date.
- p — trading halted.
- q — no security or cancellable or being represented under the Bankruptcy Act or securities obtained by such companies.
- r — when distributed.
- s — when sold.
- t — with warrants.
- u — without warrants.
- v — ex-dividend or ex-split.
- w — with warrants.
- x — without warrants.
- y — dividend and sales in full.

SPORTS

Thousands Mourn As Maier Is Buried

VIENNA—Ski-mad Austria bid farewell Thursday to Ullrich Maier, the "skiing moon" who died after breaking his neck during a race last weekend. Thousands of people, including fearful teammates, ski officials, neighbors and fans flocked to the funeral in Maier's native Rams, a small town near Salzburg where her father runs a ski school. Austrian trainers carried the wooden coffin through the streets to the church in whose graveyard she was buried. Maier's longtime boyfriend, Hubert Schweighofer, walked behind but their 4-year-old daughter, Melina, was not present. She still has not been told of her mother's death.

In Sierra Nevada, Spain, World Cup women's skier held a 10-minute memorial service.

Ullrich, the two-time world Super-G champion, was known as perhaps the most beloved of all ski stars in this Alpine nation, where triumphs are a source of national pride.

"The shock was deep," the best-selling Neue Kronenzeitung noted Thursday.

The Superfast Downhills: As Many Green Lights as Red

By Barbara Lloyd
New York Times Service

NEW YORK—The death of the veteran downhill skier Ullrich Maier of Austria has raised questions about the equipment skiers use today.

Are modern skis the equivalent of the oversized tennis racket, the breakthrough in tennis that changed forever the way a ball is served? And more important, are the new skis too dangerous?

The idea of curtailing innovations in Alpine equipment has been broached in Switzerland by Marc Hodler, president of the International Ski Federation. He suggested that high speeds might be tempered by regulating equipment.

Ski manufacturers shiver at the thought.

"The equipment is so good now that you go into turns at 90 miles an hour and expect to come out," said Dan Simonson, U.S. product manager for Fischer, the Austrian ski manufacturer. "Skis today are really easy to use. They go faster, and they turn easier."

But, Simonson contends, there is a more salient problem: "How competitive the racers

really are. The races are so close, and the athletes are competing on such a fine line of victory."

Indeed, a World Cup downhill racer changes skis the way Formula One drivers change spark plugs. The top skiers travel with their own "tech reps," equipment experts who tune the skis and check the bindings every time an athlete steps off the snow.

Design innovations have increased downhill speeds in the last five years from about 120 to 145 kph (75 to 90 mph) for men, and from 95 to 120 kph for women.

Few deny that speed is a factor in accidents. But in Maier's case, it appears that the unusual dynamics of her fall contributed greatly to her injuries, said Hank Tauber, a vice president of the International Ski Federation. Tauber, president of Marker ski bindings in Salt Lake City, was women's coach for the U.S. Ski Team from 1967-72.

Maier spun out of control Saturday in the downhill World Cup event at Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany.

"It was a whole lot of bad luck," Tauber said, noting that initial reports that Maier hit a

timing post may be inaccurate. Rather, he said, it appears that she caught an edge, whisked by the pole with an extreme whiplash motion, and hit her head on the snow.

Still, speed is an issue, Tauber said. "There is no question we're pressing the envelope of what these bodies can do."

But Hilary Lindh, 24, of Jumeau, Alaska, who won her first World Cup downhill Wednesday, wants no part of speed control.

The 1992 Olympic silver medalist said in a telephone interview from Spain. "The downhill is supposed to be fast. Otherwise it should be called something else."

Even the manufacturers, however, are worried. Daniel Mornet, vice president for racing and promotion at Rossignol North America, a French ski manufacturer, said that the sport needs some limits. But ski design is not part of Mornet's remedy.

"You cannot slow down the technology," Mornet said. "Women want to go faster and faster on the downhill. We try to make the ski turn easier and to make it faster. But the only way to limit speed is to design the course for women."

He said it was wrong to change the women's downhill for the Olympic Winter Games in Lillehammer, Norway.

After a pre-Olympics competition last year, female downhill skiers complained that the course, designed specifically for them, was too easy. Instead, they persuaded officials to allow them to ski a shorter version of the men's downhill course.

Christin Cooper, a 1984 U.S. Olympic silver medalist in the giant slalom, has skied the Lillehammer course, and disagrees.

"It was so flat that if it snowed on race day, the women would be standing up as if they were on cross-country skis," she said.

"We should be making more demanding courses, but not necessarily faster ones," Cooper said about the speed issue. "You'd be getting into trouble by trying to hold back technology. That doesn't work. The answer lies in setting guidelines within the nature of the sport. Make courses that turn."

In the end, the shock of Maier's death may be its own brake on daredevil skiing. Tamara McKinney, a U.S. World Cup racer who was forced to retire after a high-speed fall in 1989,

said that it never occurred to her that she could die racing.

"It's a very scary element of a sport that I never thought of as life-threatening," McKinney said. "It never entered my head."

It was something that happened on the men's course, she said, which was always more challenging.

Perhaps, as the Italian racer Alberto Tomba views it, the only way to avoid disaster in the downhill is to ignore it altogether.

"When you go down, you never know what you are going to meet up with," Tomba said recently. "Then you have on a ski suit that doesn't protect you in any way. Likewise, it's the same with your helmet. It does little or no good when you take such a disastrous fall."

World Cup ski coaches "stand behind the professional staff of the International Ski Federation," Jari Saarberg of Sweden, chairman of a coaches' working group, said in a statement issued Thursday in Sierra Nevada, Spain.

"We feel that the FIS management is responsive to our concerns and sensitive to the safety considerations we all share for the athletes," the statement added. (Reuters)

Smoking Is Dangerous

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LILLEHAMMER, Norway—Three Olympic volunteers received minor injuries when a roof collapsed under the weight of snow at the hotel where members of the International Olympic Committee will stay during the Games.

Dag Koppervik, manager of the five-star Lillehammer Hotel, where IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch and other officials are booked, said Thursday that workers clearing snow off the hotel roof had not realized they were shoveling it on to the temporary, plastic roof of a garden shed.

"Unfortunately, three volunteers were standing in there having a smoke and the roof collapsed," he said.

"One had an ankle injury and the other two had scratches and bruises. The snow was very heavy, of course."

Lillehammer has been hit by record snowfall during the run-up to the Games that start Feb. 12. (AP, Reuters)



Norwegian soldiers worked Thursday to clear the latest night's snow from the bobsled and luge track at Hunderfossen.

Harding's Still Waiting, Kerrigan's Set for Games

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PORTLAND, Oregon—U.S. figure skating champion Tonya Harding practiced again Thursday, for an Olympics she may not get to compete in, while Nancy Kerrigan a trip to the Games in Lillehammer, Norway was now certain.

"If there were any doubt or any questions about Nancy Kerrigan's skating condition, she answered them for us this afternoon," Chuck Foster, secretary of the U.S. Olympic Committee, said after watching Kerrigan skate Wednesday in a closed session at the Tonya Kent Arena in South Dennis, Massachusetts.

"We expect that she is going to do very well in Norway," he said.

Kerrigan performed her technical, long and free skating programs, displaying jumps, spins and choreography for the panel of four figure-skating judges convened to assess her physical status. They concurred that she was fully recovered from the Jan. 6 attack that kept her from competing in the U.S. figure skating championships in Detroit.

"What we saw was not only good physical condition with a high level of stamina, but her mental condition was very good," said Kathleen Kelly-Cutrone, another of the judges.

Kerrigan lost her chance to qualify, with Harding, for the U.S. Olympic team because of the injury inflicted on her right leg. But because of her top standing before the attack, figure skating officials put Kerrigan on the U.S. team anyway, as long as she could show she was physically and mentally fit to compete.

Kerrigan is to skate in a charity event Friday night at Northeastern University in Boston, in her first public performance since the attack. She declined to answer questions after Wednesday's session.

Harding practiced as usual at a shopping mall rink, falling the first time she tried her trademark triple axel.

Jeff Gillooly, her former husband, pleaded guilty Tuesday to a charge of racketeering in connection with the attack. Harding has not been charged, but Gillooly said she was deeply involved, and lied to hide her involvement from authorities.

The Multnomah County deputy district attorney, Norman W. Frink, said he would neither confirm nor deny a report that Harding will be charged next week.

"There have been no final decisions made in this matter," he said.

Frink said the investigation probably would continue another week or two, and grand jury proceedings will likely last another week after that.

Gillooly met for two hours with FBI investigators Wednesday, but Frink declined to characterize the nature of the interview.

A five-member figure-skating panel, which will determine if Harding breached the U.S. Figure Skating Association's code of ethics, said it will reconvene Friday to determine whether a disciplinary procedure for Harding is necessary.

The FBI, meanwhile, was examining scraps of paper, found in a Portland restaurant's trash bin, that could back up Gillooly's assertions that Harding was involved from the start in setting up the attack on Kerrigan.

Gillooly has told investigators Harding gave final authority for the attack to be carried out, and made telephone calls to pin down Kerrigan's home address and practice schedule at Tonya Kent Arena, where, originally, the assault was to take place.

Among the scraps of paper turned over to the FBI was an envelope addressed to Gillooly and

some scribbled notes and doodles that included the words, "Tonya Kent Arena, Cape Cod" on one page and "Tonya Kent Arena, S. Dennis, Cape Cod" on another.

It could corroborate Gillooly's account of how Harding called a skating writer, Vera Marano, to find out Kerrigan's home address and practice schedule before the aborted attempt to assault her in Massachusetts.

Gillooly said Marano called back while the couple was out, leaving a message on their answering machine. They couldn't understand it.

"Gillooly said it sounded something like 'Tonya Can,'" his statement to the FBI read. "Gillooly said that on the same day or shortly after that, Harding talked to Vera Marano ... Gillooly heard Harding say, 'Spell it out,' and Gillooly watched Harding write, 'Tonya Kent Arena.'"

In Washington, a former congressman said that President Bill Clinton believes Harding should be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

Former Representative Tom McMillen, a co-chair of the President's Council on Physical Fitness, told "CBS This Morning" that he and Clinton discussed the case Wednesday and "the feeling the president had (was) that Tonya should be given the benefit of the doubt."

"We talked about the presumption of innocence that our system is all about—that someone is innocent until proven guilty," said McMillen, a former Olympic basketball player. (AP, NYT, WP)

For Bonnie Blair, One Eye on Gold, One on Clock

By George Vecsey
New York Times Service

MILWAUKEE—In countries like Norway and the Netherlands, where speed skaters are superstars, people turn and gawk at Bonnie Blair.

They are polite about it, in their generally courteous English, but they let her know they recognize her as the winner of three Olympic gold medals. She thinks she likes the attention.

"It's very unique," Blair said recently. "These people know you in your uniform, they know your skating style, they know your times, they know you in street clothes. I can still go about my business, but it's nice."

People do not turn and gawk in her neighborhood near Milwaukee. Some recognize her, but many others just see her as the slim, energetic 29-year-old woman tossing items in her shopping cart. And she thinks she likes the anonymity, too.

"Michael Jordan can't go to the grocery store," she said. "Notoriety is all right, as long as it's not too overwhelming."

Bonnie Blair also confesses that while she is rushing through the supermarket, she is doing her share of glancing from side to side. She is watching other women her age, noticing that they often have tiny companions, propped up in the seat of the shopping cart.

"Sometimes when I feel old, I remember that my friends have kids running around," she said recently. "Then I feel younger. I realize I haven't gone through changes. I'm still skating. Until I make these changes, I'll still be the same person. You're only as young as you feel."

She feels young and untouched by life, but at the same time she is on the verge of becoming the grand old lady of what used to be called amateur sports.

She will go to Norway needing one gold medal to tie the swimmer Janet Evans, the diver Pat McCormick and the sprinter Evelyn Ashford as the most successful American women in Olympic history.

And a fifth gold medal would put her ahead of everybody, ever. She is expected to compete in the 500- and 1,000-meter events, and she will be the favorite in both of them, and she may skip the 1,500-meter race.

While Nancy Kerrigan can count on eight-digit income from one gold medal in figure skating, Bonnie Blair could leave Norway with a total of five gold medals and financial expectations two or three digits lower. Her sport just isn't, shall we say, sexy.

Blair happens to be relatively fit, but her sport demands powerful muscles and carries not one whit for pretty features or makeup or elegant hair. There are no judges in speed skating. Nobody gets style points—or even sympathy points—by the way certain figure skaters seem to do.

There are no choreographers. The costumes are designed in laboratories for speed, not in boutiques for fashion.

There is no ballet music spliced together in a four-minute medley, just a couple of lonely skaters leaning forward, arms swinging, legs churning, racing against the clock and not even against each other.

Blair laughs when you ask her if deep within this energetic speed skater there is a glamorous figure skater screaming to be set free. "No, no, I don't think I have the gracefulness for that," she said.

She also appreciated the difference in the sports when she heard about the nasty business of somebody whacking Nancy Kerrigan on the knee, putting her out of the national championships in Detroit a few weeks ago, while Blair was competing in her time trials in Milwaukee.

"She is in such a high-profile sport," Blair said. "You hope it won't happen to anybody. It's nice to have some notoriety when somebody recognizes you. It's not so low that I don't get any."

That may depend on the next two weeks in Norway. The common assumption is that Bonnie Blair is going to Lillehammer, because that is the home base of these 1994 Games, but in fact, Blair is going to Hamar, 40 miles to the south, a separate little world of figure skating and speed skating.

She thinks she is still at the peak to win two more gold medals. People say the most explosive athletes tend to be on the downward slope when they hit 30, which Blair will do March 18.

But she replies: "Look at Carl Lewis and Linford Christie. Get as short a sprint as you can get, and they're still going."

She does concede that this will be her last Winter Games. The lords of the Olympics did her a huge favor, without having her in mind, when they moved the Winter Games two years to follow the 1992 Games in France. But now she says, "I'll skate until the end of next season," and that will be it.

She has been at this sport so long that she knows there are no simple answers (or her success).

She will admit there is something called innate talent and potential. "You can say techniques and you can say hard work, but they don't necessarily mean a gold medal. Somebody can work hard and have the right mind-set, but it's not automatic."

Blair thinks she knows how to prepare her relatively elderly body for at least two more Olympic competitions. In the last year, she has begun to do more cross-training with a bicycle and other exercises. And she has not said whether she will expose herself to the opening ceremonies. She went to them when she was younger, but skipped them in 1992.

"They are a highlight," Blair said. "That's what it's all about, but

in 1992 I opted not to go. I knew what it meant by then. In 1994, I've got an idea I'd like to go again, but part of it depends on whether I can sit down or stand."

She has been training for two years for two more gold medals, and she isn't sure about the future. She has known anxious parades, joyous welcoming ceremonies back home in Champagne, Illinois, but she has no image of what it could be like if she wins two more golds.

"I definitely feel very fortunate,

but I don't know what I will do with it," she said. "In some way, I'll give back to sports, but I don't know what that role will be—administrative, coaching. Speed skating will always be part of my life."

She does know that her mother in Illinois is throwing a few broad hints that Blair might be ready to settle down in Milwaukee.

And her mother is also throwing some pretty broad hints about hearing rumors that Blair and another speed skater, David Cruik-

shank, four years her junior, are about to get married.

Blair laughs at the gossip. "I don't know anything about it," she said. "It's great that your best friend understands you and you understand him, but that's all I know."

She has put many things in abeyance while training for her last Games. She goes to Norway to race against one clock, but Bonnie Blair admits without much prodding that she hears other clocks ticking, too.



Tonya Harding got help from her choreographer, Erica Bakacs, in stretching a leg as she continued to practice for the Olympic Games.

Ma's 'Army' Is to Invade Summer European Meets

LONDON—China's elite women runners, including world record holders Wang Junxia and Qu Junxia, will compete on the Grand Prix circuit in Europe this year, starting with the Stockholm meet July 12. Their coach, Ma Junren, says he hopes to make \$1 million in prize and appearance money to help finance his team's training.

A provisional list of events for Ma's athletes starts with the London marathon on April 17, although World Cup champion Wang may be running in a 10-kilometer road race in Jakarta that day. London's race pays \$150,000 if the world record is broken. That winner gets \$500,000, if the record for the distance is broken. That mark of 30 minutes, 38 seconds, held by Liz McColgan of Britain, is more than a minute slower than Wang's best time on the track.

After a two-month break, Ma's athletes will return to Europe for the Stockholm Grand Prix, followed by the Oslo "Golden Four" meet 10 days later. The coach then plans to bring his team to the remaining three "Golden Four" meets, in Zurich on Aug. 17, in Brussels two days later and in Berlin on Aug. 21 and the Grand Prix final in Paris on Sept. 3 before finishing the season with the World Cup in London on Sept. 8-10.

SIDELINES

Couples Leads Langer, Woosnam by 2

PHUKET, Thailand (AP)—Fred Couples, who failed to make the cut in last week's Desert Classic in Dubai, shot a first round 6-under-par 66 for a two-stroke lead Thursday over Bernhard Langer and Ian Woosnam in the Johnnie Walker Classic.

Couples carded six birdies, while many other players struggled to read the tricky greens of the Blue Canyon Country Club layout. Peter Baker and Lee Westwood of England and David Feherty of Northern Ireland were at 69.

Nick Price withdrew before the round began because of tendinitis in his left wrist. British Open champion Greg Norman played despite a lung infection but struggled around the course to shoot 75.

A major international golf tournament will be held in China in 1995, PGA Tour Commissioner Deane Beman said in Pebble Beach, California, with details to be announced "in a matter of weeks." (AP)

Jay's Olerud Gets \$17 Million Contract

TORONTO (AP)—John Olerud, the American League batting champion who flirted with 400 for much of last season, agreed Thursday to a \$17 million, three-year contract with the Toronto Blue Jays that contains a 1997 option that could make the deal worth \$22.5 million.

Olerud, who made \$1,562,500 in 1993, gets a \$1.5 million signing bonus, \$3.25 million in 1994, \$5.25 million in 1995 and \$6 million in 1996. The club option is \$6.5 million with a \$1 million buyout, and becomes guaranteed if he has 500 plate appearances in each of the first three seasons.

Fischer Tom Gordon, who made \$890,000 in 1993, nearly tripled his salary when an arbitrator awarded him \$2,635,000. The difference of \$1,235,000 was the third-largest among the 80 players who exchanged figures with their clubs on Jan. 18. The only bigger gaps involved Texas outfielder Juan Gonzalez (\$1.9 million) and Olerud (\$1.35 million).

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